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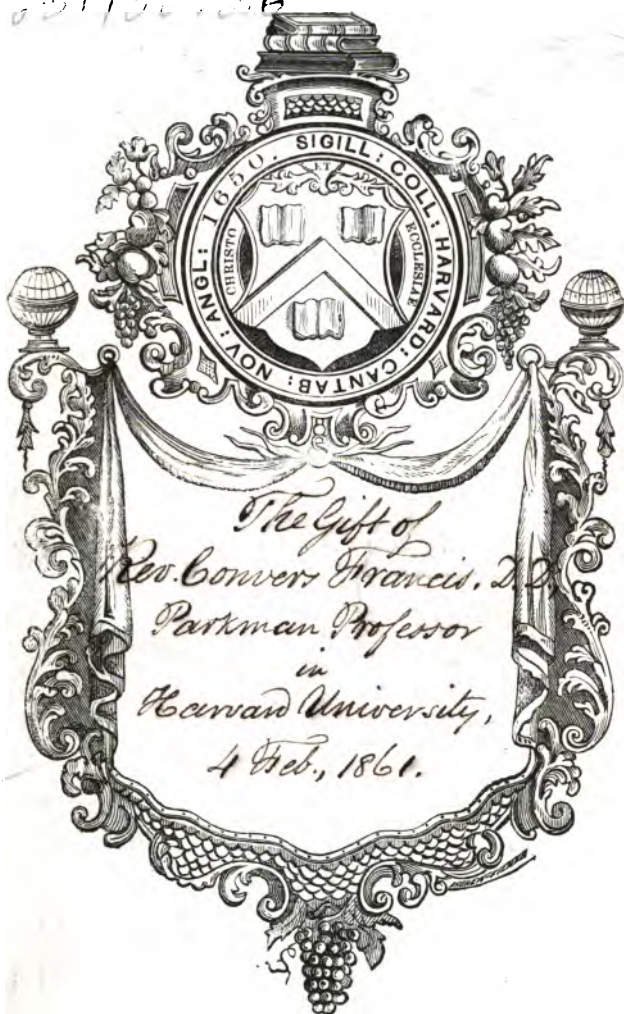
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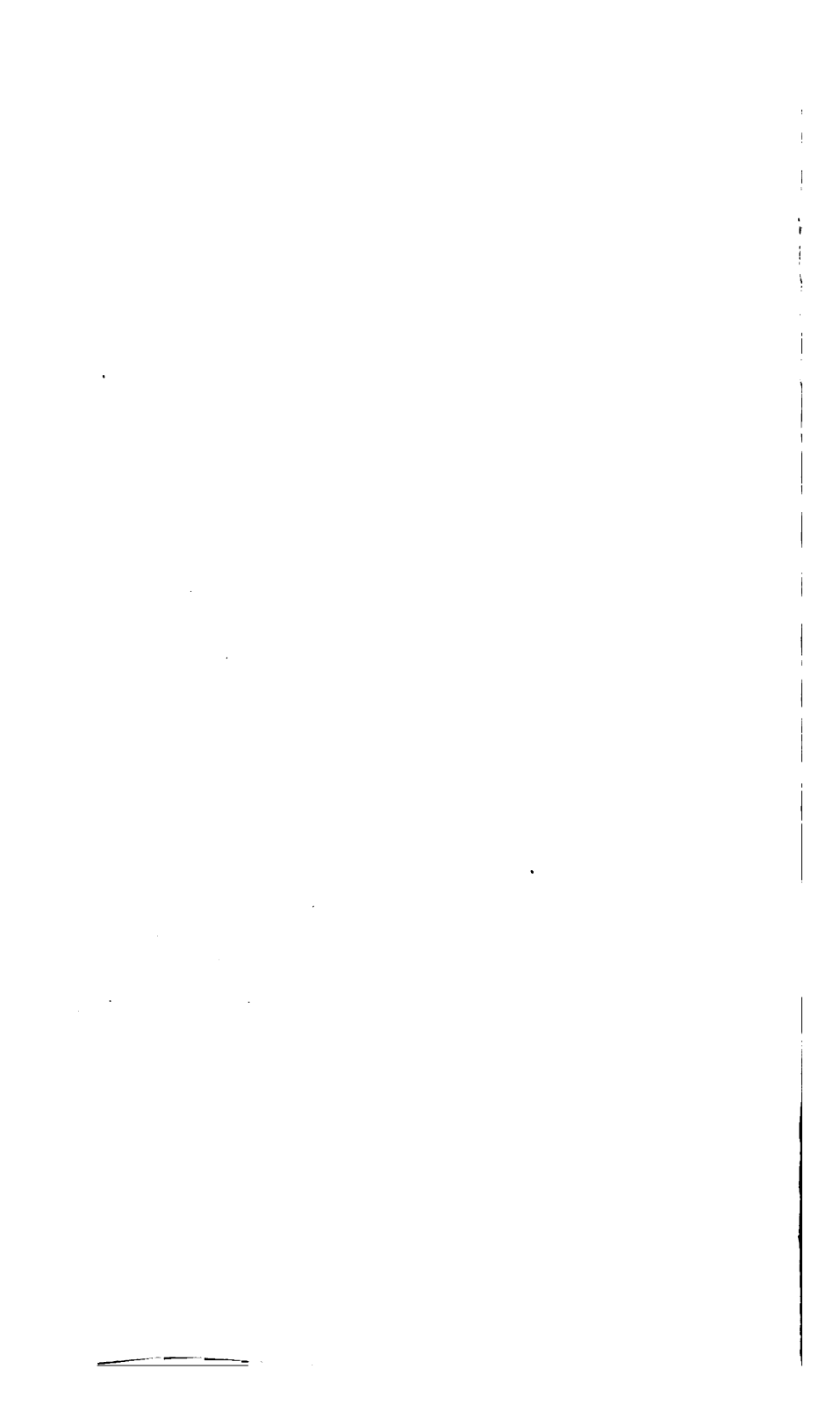
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P. 1730.26









THE DAYS

OF

QUEEN MARY.

WITH ENGRAVINGS.

NEW-YORK:

HARPER & BROTHERS, 82 CLIFF-STREET.

1843.

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In bringing this interesting work before the American public, the publishers would state that it has been prepared with great care by the London Religious Tract Society. It is now reprinted without any alteration or abridgment. No similar work has obtained a more extensive circulation in Great Britain; and it is believed that the interesting work of D'Aubigne on the German Reformation will prepare the mind of the reading community for these spirited outlines of the conflicts of Truth in the battle-field of Religious Liberty.

New-York, May 7th, 1843.

THE DAYS OF QUEEN MARY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

A Brief Account of the Reign of Edward the Sixth.
A.D. 1547-1553



Latimer preaching before King Edward the Sixth.

On the decease of Henry the Eighth, who expired January 28, 1547, his only son, Prince Edward, succeeded to the throne of England, at the early age of nine years.* Upon the character and abilities of this "British Josiah" historians have ever delighted to dwell. "No pen," as Fuller observes, "passeth by him without praising him, though none praiseth

* He was the only son of Henry the Eighth, by his beloved wife Jane Seymour, who, unhappily, died of a fever ten days after the birth of her son. Romish historians have asserted, that the physicians having reported to Henry that either the mother or child must perish, he gave directions for preserving the child, and caused the mother's death. This assertion is *entirely false*: for public records, which are quoted by Fuller, Strype, and others, prove that she survived ten days; that she even signed a public document referring to the birth of Edward; and that her death was sudden and unexpected.

him to his full deserts ;" and if there are a few Romish writers who cannot be included among this number, it reflects little credit upon their candour or veracity as historians.

Whatever the character and conduct of Henry the Eighth may have been, his anxiety respecting the education of his children cannot be denied ; and in this respect, Edward, as an only son, of course engaged his chief attention. At the age of six years, he was removed from those who had watched over his infancy, and was committed to the care of Sir Anthony Cook, Dr. Richard Cox, Sir John Cheke, with other able and pious preceptors. Under their instruction, he made rapid progress in acquiring the learned languages and general knowledge ; so that his attainments, at the tender age when he succeeded to the throne, excited the wonder and commendation of all men. The celebrated Cardan wrote a minute and interesting account of this prince, which has been often published ; and William Thomas, one of the most learned men of those times, thus describes this youthful monarch, soon after his accession to the throne :

"If ye knew the towardness of that young prince, your hearts would melt to hear him named, and your stomach would abhor the malice of them that would do him ill ; the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun ; the wittiest (most learned), the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world. Such a spirit of capacity for learning the things taught him by his schoolmasters, that it is a wonder to hear say."

Such was Edward the Sixth—learned, amiable, and pious. Let it not be forgotten, that his instructors were selected, and his education superintended by *Cranmer*, who was anxious respecting his future monarch, both from public and private motives. As his godfather, he had undertaken a charge to which it was his personal duty to attend ; and as the main pillar of the Reformation in England, he could not but deeply feel how much would depend upon the principles and conduct of this excellent child when he should arrive at manhood. However commendable these endeavours might be, something farther was needful. Paul may plant and Apollos may water, but it is God alone that giveth the increase ; and to Edward the Sixth this blessing was imparted. During his reign, it was evident that he had made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all his heart and with all his soul. This appears from various circumstances, some of which will be noticed as we proceed. Two may be mentioned here, as they occurred at an early period of his life, and show the respect with which he regarded the Holy Scriptures. Edward the Sixth was indeed a BIBLE PROTESTANT.

At his coronation, three swords of state were brought to be carried before him, as the king of three kingdoms; he said there was one yet wanting. The nobles inquired his meaning; he replied, it was **THE BIBLE**; adding, "That book is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords. That ought, in all right, to govern us, who use them for the people's safety by God's appointment. Without *that sword* we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power. From that we are what we are this day. From that we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. He that rules without it is not to be called God's minister, or a king. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of Divine strength." He then commanded a Bible to be brought, and carried before him with the greatest reverence.

The other anecdote shows that this regard for the word of God was not confined to *public* marks of respect, but that it also influenced his private hours. Once, while engaged in play, he wished to get at something which was above his reach; a companion observing this, brought a large book for him to stand upon; *our* Edward (for such every British Protestant must delight to call him) perceived it was the Bible; he rebuked his associate for this want of respect to the word of God, and, lifting it reverently from the ground, he kissed the book, and replaced it on the shelf.

Upon such a prince, the charge addressed to him by Cranmer, at his coronation, would not be lost. The following is an extract: "Your majesty is God's vicegerent, and Christ's vicar within your own dominions; and you are to see, like your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed; also the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josiah, who *reformed* the Church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to punish sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms. For precedents, on those kings who performed not these things, the old law (the Old Testament) shows how the Lord revenged his quarrel; and on those kings who fulfilled these things, he poured forth his blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah, 'Like unto him there was no king that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.'"

Edward the Sixth, as already stated, came to the throne when scarcely more than nine years of age. The principal direction of affairs rested upon his uncle, Edward Seymour,

Earl of Hertford, afterward created Duke of Somerset. He was styled the lord protector; and we may ascertain the principles by which he was influenced, by the following extract from a prayer he was accustomed to use, in reference to the authority committed to his charge: "Oh my Lord and my God, I am the work of thy hands, thy goodness cannot reject me; I am the price of thy Son's death, Jesus Christ; and for thy Son's sake thou wilt not suffer me to perish. I am a vessel for thy mercy; thy justice will not condemn me. I am recorded in the book of life. I am written with the very blood of Jesus; thy inestimable love will not cancel, then, my name. For this cause, Lord God, I am bold to speak to thy majesty. Thou, Lord, by thy providence, hast called me to rule; make me, therefore, able to follow thy calling. Thou, Lord, by thine order, hast committed an anointed king to my governance; direct me, therefore, with thy hand, that I err not from thy good pleasure. Finish in me, Lord, thy beginning, and begin in me that thou wilt finish. Teach me what to ask, and then give me that I ask. None other I seek to, Lord, but thee, because none other can give it me; and that I seek is thine honour and glory. Thus I conclude, Lord, by the name of thy Son, Jesus Christ. Faithfully I commit all my cause to thy high providence; and so rest, to advance all human strength under the standard of thy omnipotence."

Such a governor could not but approve and encourage Cranmer's proceedings. That prelate was now fully emancipated from the errors of the Church of Rome. The doctrine of transubstantiation had been maintained by him long after he saw the folly and anti-Christian tendency of its other doctrines, and had utterly renounced them. By degrees, the light of Divine truth fully illumined his mind. Ever willing to listen to the voice of truth, he had attended to Frith and others; and at length, by the blessing of the Holy Spirit, the arguments of Ridley were made the means of fully convincing him that a piece of dough was not changed into the flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ by the pronouncement of a few Latin words from the mouth of a priest. In this gradual change of Cranmer's sentiments we recognise the providence of God. Henry was most strongly attached to the Romish doctrine respecting the sacrament of the altar, and would probably have delivered up the archbishop to the malice of his enemies, had he suspected him of differing from his own views on this subject; but this change proceeded gradually, and was not fully accomplished till the end of Henry's reign, so that Cranmer retained that monarch's protection to the last.

Both the protector and the primate were fully bent upon forwarding the Reformation; but they saw that it was neces-

sary to proceed with caution, as the realm was in a very unquiet state, and there were many who opposed their views even in the council. In the larger towns and cities, where men's minds had been excited by a spirit of inquiry, there was a general desire to cast off the bonds of superstition, and clear away the dregs of Romanism which yet remained; but in the more remote and secluded districts ignorance still prevailed, and a large proportion of the people loved papal darkness rather than the light of the Gospel. This was promoted by a circumstance worthy of notice. When the monasteries were dissolved, and the property belonging to those establishments was given or sold to the laity, small pensions were to be paid to the surviving monks, by the new proprietors, till they should be otherwise provided for. Although these sums were comparatively trifling, the avarice of man was eager to avoid the expense; and in a great many instances, these quondam monks were preferred to livings and benefices, the duties of which they were utterly incompetent to discharge; thus the people remained uninstructed and ignorant; and, unhappily, a large proportion of the clergy continued to be secretly attached to Romanism. The effects of this state of things will be seen when we come to the reign of Queen Mary.

The laity were, in many instances, much more eager for the Reformation than the body of the clergy; some, however, united with their parishioners in this good and necessary work. Soon after Edward's accession to the throne, a complaint was made against the curate and church-wardens of St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane, in London, for having removed the images, and pictures of saints, and the crucifix from their church, and for having painted many texts of Scripture on the walls. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and his party, were fully determined to punish them; but Cranmer interfered, and they escaped with a reprimand. When Lent came, Ridley preached publicly against the use of images, which encouraged the people in several places to destroy them. This was done at Portsmouth, in Gardiner's own diocese; that prelate immediately wrote, in great anger, to the mayor to examine into the matter, and offered that, if the people were not too far gone in these notions, he would send preachers to instruct them, but added "that such as were affected with this principle, of breaking down images, were hogs, and worse than hogs, and were ever so considered in England, being called *Lollards*." He also asserted, that "the destruction of images contained an enterprise to subvert religion, and the state of the world with it."

The Romanists had already taken the alarm, and endeavoured to excite discontent among the people by all the means in their power. The protector and the council were con-

vinced that it was necessary to proceed with caution, and not to attempt material alterations upon their own authority. A Parliament, therefore, was summoned. Meanwhile, a general visitation of all the dioceses was made, with a view to remove some of the superstitious ceremonies, and to enforce the observance of certain injunctions (thirty-six in number), set forth by authority. The particulars of these are recorded by Fuller. Among them are directions for the observance of the laws against the pope's supremacy; that the clergy should preach once a quarter at least, "dissuading their people from superstitious fancies of pilgrimages, praying to images," &c.; that images should be removed; that the Bible, and the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament, should be placed in every church; that none should preach without license; that at high mass the Epistle and Gospel, a chapter of the New Testament, and also the Litany, should be read in English; that, to prevent, in sick persons, "the damnable vice of despair, the clergy should learn, and always have in readiness, such comfortable phrases and sentences of Scripture as set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of God towards all penitent and believing persons." Surely this was a most estimable substitute, as far as it went, for extreme unction, and prayers to the Virgin and saints! The other injunctions contained various regulations, all of which tended to promote the good work which was now going forward.

The visitors, in general, found much disorder and ignorance prevailing. Avaricious and evil-minded men sought their own private interests while promoting the downfall of superstition, and appropriated the revenues of the Church to themselves, so as to leave a great part of the clergy almost destitute of subsistence. This, and the appointment of ignorant monks to many of the benefices, rendered it necessary to take immediate steps for the instruction of the people. With this view, a book of Homilies was set forth, and ordered to be used by all the clergy who were not authorized to preach. Cranmer earnestly promoted this design, and Gardiner, of course, opposed it. The work, however, went forward, and the archbishop himself assisted. The Homily on Salvation, in particular, appears to have been written by him. Gardiner strongly objected to the doctrines taught in this homily: offering, however, to yield, "if they could show to him any *old writer* that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification," which, he said, was against Scripture! It was not difficult to show him passages such as he required, but he refused to be convinced.

Meanwhile, his refractory conduct, and repeated opposition to the proceedings of the council, compelled them to commit him to the Fleet prison. The dispute between him

and Cranmer, respecting the Homily on Salvation, still continued. Among other matters, he charged the archbishop with troubling the world about needless speculations. Gardiner stated on that most important topic, justification, "in baptism we are justified, being infants, before we can talk of the justification we can strive for. For all men receive their justification in their infancy in baptism, and if they fall again after baptism, they must arise again by the sacrament of penance!" It should be remembered, that the Church of Rome not only declares that all adults who die out of her communion are damned, but also, horrible to say! extends this dreadful doctrine to the case of little infants dying unbaptized by neglect of their parents, or any other circumstance. In Fox's Acts and Monuments, the reader will find the whole of Gardiner's correspondence with the protector and Cranmer. These documents occupy more than thirty folio pages; but they will repay examination, as they show the spirit of their author, which may be easily discerned, from the insolent, profane, and quibbling style in which he has written.*

The Princess Mary, afterward queen, was as much dissatisfied with these proceedings as the Romish prelates. She wrote to the protector that she thought all changes in religion, while the king was under age, were improper, and reflected upon the memory of her father. To this the duke replied, and exhorted her to study the Scriptures.

Parliament met on the 4th of November, 1547. One of the earliest measures was to repeal some severities in the laws concerning treason, and other points touching the welfare and happiness of the state: among other regulations of this sort, it was enacted, that no person should be accused for words which they had spoken, unless within a month from the time they were uttered. But the chief points to be noticed here are, that the bloody act of the *Six Articles* was repealed, also two of the severest statutes against *Lollards*.† All persons asserting the pope's supremacy were liable to punishment; and on the third offence, or in aggravated cases, it was declared to be high treason, being an assertion of the

* It is not necessary to dwell upon Gardiner's arguments. One brief extract will suffice. He says, "Such as die (before that actual sin hath defiled their soul again), if they die in the innocency received in baptism, be saved. And yet those children, when they were christened, did nothing but cry for cold, or when they were over hard gripped for fear of falling. And when this is believed, is not God's mercy believed to be ministered after a most free, liberal sort? If my Lord of Canterbury mind only that the matter shall appear without argument, we practise justification in receiving the sacrament of baptism. And as for justification by faith, it is all out of use, howsoever we expound it, as the state of the Church is now." This was the principal opposer of the Reformation, and such were his arguments! How similar to the language and arguments of the Romanists at the present day! But multitudes then, as now, rejoiced that this doctrine was not "out of use."

† These were the laws made 5 Richard II. and 3 Henry V., which gave the clergy full power to proceed against all persons they deemed heretics in whatever manner they pleased.

temporal authority of a foreign prince over the monarch of these realms. Another, and very important act, related to the sacrament of the altar. All private masses were abolished; thus the idea of the mass being in itself an *expiatory sacrifice*, beneficial for the dead as well as the living, was done away. The act also stated that this sacrament had been altered from its original form and intention, and the invariable practice of the Church for the first five hundred years, which was, that every one, laity as well as clergy, should "eat of that bread and drink of that cup." And it was ordered, in future, to be given in both kinds, as before the decree of the Council of Constance in 1425. It was no longer a crime to deny the real presence; but, to restrain the blasphemous and contemptuous language in which some wicked characters indulged, all persons who spoke irreverently or profanely of this sacrament were to be punished with fine and imprisonment; it also prohibited the absurd discussions as to the real presence, in which the papists indulged. Other acts tended to reform various abuses and superstitions. One, against idle vagabonds, was evidently intended to check the dissolute, wandering life which was followed by many who had formerly been monks and friars, and now strolled about the country, exciting the people to discontent and rebellion, the effects of which we shall speedily perceive.

With the same object, all persons were forbidden from preaching unless licensed; while Latimer, who had been released from the Tower soon after the king's accession, and other divines of acknowledged piety and talent, were employed to preach throughout the kingdom. It should, however, be stated, that Latimer, being too infirm to resume the charge of his bishopric, continued mostly to reside with Cranmer. He also preached regularly before the king, and many of his sermons are extant; they will amply repay the perusal. He was much followed and highly esteemed, particularly for the able manner in which he exposed the absurdities of Romanism, and the faithful boldness with which he rebuked the fashionable vices of the times.*

In the commencement of the new year, a proclamation was issued forbidding many superstitious rites, ceremonies, and processions. Images were also to be removed.† The

* His sermons, contained in *THE BRITISH REFORMERS*, published by the Religious Tract Society, show the soundness of the doctrines preached by this faithful servant of Christ.

† Particularly the blasphemous image of the Trinity, which represented God the Father as an aged man; our blessed Lord as a young man; and the Virgin Mary as sitting between them, with the dove, an emblem of God the Holy Spirit, fluttering over her head. This impious attempt to represent the Deity had been introduced to countenance the assertion of some of the friars that the Virgin Mary had been taken up into heaven, and *assumed* or *united* into the Holy Trinity. This blasphemy was also countenanced by the festival called "*The assumption of the Virgin*," still observed among Romanists, to commemorate her body being "*assumed*," or taken up into heaven.

execution of this law was a new occasion of grief to Gardiner and his brethren. A select committee of bishops and other divines was appointed to examine all the services of the Church, and to consider how far they needed amendment. Their examination was very minute and careful; many of the documents still remain. The sacrament of the altar was the most corrupted of any part of the Church services. Instead of a communion and a commemoration of the death of Christ, it was become a sort of mystery and ceremony, chiefly for the alleged purpose of delivering souls out of purgatory, and thereby enabling the priests to claim payment for its celebration! This service was first reformed, being declared to be a communion, and ordered to be celebrated after a form in many respects similar to that used by the Church of England at the present day. The alteration was to take place at the following Easter; and *private confession* of sins to a priest, and obtaining his absolution, were declared to be no longer needful. Thus an effectual blow was struck at another error of popery. Penances and indulgences, of course, became no longer necessary. Of these privileges, an ample specimen will be found in the Appendix to Burnet's History of the Reformation, extracted from a popish liturgy used at Salisbury, printed in 1526. Two of the shortest are as follows: "Our holy father, the Pope John XXII., hath granted to all them that devoutly say this prayer, after the elevation of our Lord J. C. (the lifting up the consecrated wafer), 3000 days of pardon for *deadly sins*!!!" "Who that devoutly beholdeth these arms of our Lord J. C. shall obtain 6000 years of pardon of our holy father, St. Peter, the first Pope of Rome, and of thirty other popes of the Church of Rome, successors after him. And our holy father, Pope John XXII., hath granted unto all them, very contrite and truly confessed, that say these devout prayers following in the commemoration of the bitter passion of our Lord J. C., 3000 years of pardon for *deadly sins*, and other 3000 for venial sins, and say first a paternoster and an ave Maria!"

Modern Romanists assert that pardons or indulgences were never given for sins not yet committed. But the indulgences even now granted are very similar to those just quoted; and what essential difference is there between offering a pardon for a crime previous to its being committed, or rendering the obtaining of forgiveness a mere form, and allowing it to be procured at the will of the offender? Surely both are *giving liberty to sin*, and such have been the fruits of these indulgences; modern travellers confirm the words of Ascham, the preceptor of Queen Elizabeth, and declare that what he said of Venice* is applicable even now to places in general where Romanism prevails.

* "I saw in one city (Venice) more liberty to sin than I have heard of in London these ten years."

Gardiner again stood forward, opposing this casting off the corruptions of popery : after repeated warnings from the council, and promises on his part of conformity to their directions, he was found continuing his seditious malpractices, and exciting disturbances, upon which the lords committed him to the Tower.

Cranmer was at this time engaged in publishing a *Catechism*, or instruction for young persons. He wrote, also, against "*Unwritten Verities*," showing that the Bible contains all things necessary to salvation, without the help of tradition, decrees of councils, and other human authorities referred to by the Church of Rome. Cranmer, also, was attentive to the state of the universities : he encouraged sound and Scriptural learning ; and with this view induced Peter Martyr, and several other learned foreign Protestants, to settle at Oxford and Cambridge. At length the reformed liturgy was set forth, in many points similar to the one now in use. In executing this work, great pains were taken to throw out the superstitious prayers, ceremonies, and legends which had been introduced by the Church of Rome, leaving such prayers and formularies as had been originally, for the most part, compiled from the primitive fathers, or selected from the Scriptures. It is unnecessary, in these pages, to enter into the often-repeated discussion, whether this reform was carried sufficiently far or not. That the liturgy is a human and uninspired compilation, will be admitted by its warmest advocates ; and, therefore, like all other works of man, it must partake of a greater or less degree of imperfection. While this is admitted on the one hand, we may remember that the best and most pious men, of all denominations, have allowed that it contains many excellences ; one of the principal of these, and a strong mark of its difference from the Romish liturgies, is its being in the *vulgar tongue*, and, therefore, understood by all persons of common capacity ; we may also notice that the Scriptures are read instead of the legends of saints. If the reader will examine the breviaries and missals still used in the Church of Rome, he will perceive how widely even King Edward's liturgy, without the subsequent corrections, differs from those compilations.*

* See Gloucester Ridley's *Life of Ridley* for a brief collection of these services.

Stillingfleet observes that the Church of England omitted none of the offices used by the ancient churches ; and wherever the Gallican or the ancient British liturgies differed from the Roman, they followed the former. The late excellent Rev. S. Greathead, an Independent minister, stated to a friend, that he had carefully examined the liturgy of the Church of England, and found that three fourths of it were expressed in the words of Scripture. An idea may be formed of the extent to which these alterations from the popish formularies is carried, by comparing the form of abolution, as it stands in the morning and evening service in the Common Prayer Book, with the usual form in which it was given by the Romish priest, both to the living and the dead, which, when translated (for even to the most ignorant it was pronounced in Latin), is as follows : " I absolve thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And I grant to thee that all the indulgences given, or to be

This subject is only introduced into these pages to show how decidedly the English Reformers threw off the corruptions of popery, and not with any view to discuss or enter upon the subject of the propriety of using a public formulary, respecting which good men have differed in opinion, and doubtless will continue to do so, but without desiring to rule the consciences of each other in this respect.

Peter Martyr, Bucer, and other foreign divines, assisted in this work; and Calvin wrote to the protector, encouraging him to proceed with the Reformation. A large proportion of the nation, however, was too deeply attached to Romish superstitions to approve of these changes, and much angry discussion arose.

The clergy were still forbidden to preach without license, and were directed to use the homilies. With the letter of this injunction they complied, but contrived to evade its spirit; for those who were averse to the doctrines of the Gospel read the homilies in such a hasty, confused, and irreverent manner, as to be unintelligible to their congregations; thus many hungry sheep still looked up, but were not fed. The free use, however, of the Scriptures was allowed to all, and Archbishop Newcome describes no less than *thirty-four* distinct editions of the whole Bible or New Testament in the English language, printed during this short reign, without including editions of detached parts. Texts of Scripture were also generally painted on the walls of churches and other buildings.

In the next session of Parliament, an act was passed authorizing the *marriage of priests*. Thus another abomination of the Church of Rome was done away, in speaking of which it is scarcely possible to use language sufficiently strong; and the facts which might be referred to, as fully authorizing such an assertion, *cannot be admitted* into any work intended for general perusal. But many passages show that this prohibition is contrary to the express declarations of Scripture, and that it was one of the most powerful means which could have been devised by the great enemy of souls for extending his kingdom and promoting the works of darkness. The permission to marry, however, cannot be considered as fully carried into effect till another act was passed three years af-

given thee, by any prelate, with the blessings of them, all the sprinkling of holy water, all the devout beatings of thy breast, the contritions of thy heart, this confession, and all thy other devout confessions, all thy fastings, abstinences, alms-givings, watchings, disciplines, prayers, and pilgrimages, and all the good thou hast done or shalt do, and all the evils thou hast suffered or shalt suffer for God; the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ; the merits of the glorious and blessed Virgin Mary, and of all other saints, and the suffrages of all the holy Catholic Church, turn to thee for the remission of these and all other thy sins, the increase of thy merits, and the attainment of everlasting rewards."

Surely, if priests could thus grant absolution, as well as make a deity, by pronouncing a few Latin words over a wafer, we cannot wonder that they should be regarded as something *more than human* by an ignorant laity!

terward. Another law forbade much of the superstitious fasting which had been customary. Thus the Reformation had made a material progress, yet many blamed the protector and Cranmer for not proceeding more rapidly; but they were too well acquainted with the very general ignorance which still prevailed to venture on hasty measures. The papists were more clamorous than they had been under Henry. They felt that they were under a milder government, and took every opportunity to excite disturbances, while the gentleness with which they were treated is shown by the following anecdote. The Vicar of Stepney, formerly the Abbot of Tower Hill, used to interrupt and disturb the licensed preachers by all the means he could devise. As he persisted in this, one of his parishioners named Underhill, belonging to the band of gentlemen pensioners, by virtue of his office, arrested and carried him before Archbishop Cranmer, who, having examined into the case, earnestly exhorted the priest to avoid offending in future, and dismissed him with a rebuke. Of this lenity Underhill complained, adding, "If ever it come to their turn, they will show you no such favour." "Well," said the good archbishop, "if God so provide, we must abide it."

In Strype's annals will be found an interesting account of this Underhill. He was a young man of respectable family, and much patronised by the nobility and court. Once he had been addicted to bad company, and associated with the most notorious gamblers and ruffians of the day; but from reading the Scriptures, and attending the preached Gospel, he was induced to forsake them, so that he became a continual object of hatred and derision to his former comrades. Being a man of an active and courageous disposition, and holding a situation of authority, he was a terror to evildoers of every description, and exceedingly useful in checking vice and profaneness.

This brings us to notice another point of some importance, which, although for the time it might, in some degree, promote the Reformation, was eventually one means of overturning it. We have seen that many joined in that work from self-interest; others did so from an ambitious desire to obtain the favour of the protector and great men. Strype enumerates some of these, speaking of them as "the dicers or gamblers of the day, such as great Morgan of Salisbury Court; Sir John Palmer, called Buskin Palmer; Sir Miles Partridge; and lusty young Rafe Bagnol; Allen, the conjurer, &c., men infamous in King Edward's days, yet court flatterers, and in favour among the magistrates."

Such men as these only pretended to be religious, to cloak their own knavery; and, after having hurt the cause of truth while they professed it, they gladly threw off the mask, and

turned to the *more convenient* profession of Romanism, when Mary succeeded to the throne. Let this be a warning to all who are employed in the conduct of the religious institutions of our day, not to enlist as associates, nor engage in their work, men who are actuated by a worldly spirit, however great their influence and activity may be. Can their be occasion to enforce the necessity of declining the aid of such as are, in any respect, known to live contrary to the precepts and doctrines of the Divine word!

But there were many among the clergy who bore a faithful testimony against the sins of those times. Thus, Cranmer, in a fast sermon preached about this period, severely expostulated with his hearers for their evil lives, blasphemies, licentiousness, oppression, and contempt of the Gospel. He lamented the scandal given by many who pretended to be zealous for religion, but used it only as a cloak to disguise their vices. He set before them the example of Germany, where people generally professed a love for the Gospel, but had not turned from their evil courses; for which God at length brought severe troubles upon them, under which they were then suffering; and he intimated his apprehensions that a like visitation would be sent upon England. These fears were partly realized in the troubles which shortly after arose from the political intrigues of the rulers, and the rebellious discontents of the people in several parts of the country; but they were still more completely fulfilled by the accession of Queen Mary and the restoration of popery.

During the year 1549, public disputations were held at Oxford and Cambridge on the subject of the sacrament of the altar. At Oxford, Peter Martyr had commenced a course of lectures on the first Epistle to the Corinthians. When he came to treat of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Romanists attacked him as a heretic and blasphemer. One day they posted up a notice, that on the following morning there would be held a public disputation on the *real* presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar. But they did not inform Peter Martyr of their intention, designing to take him unprepared. The next morning his friends informed him what had passed, and advised him to remain at home. He replied that he could not forsake his post. A letter was then given him from a Romanist, challenging him to dispute publicly. Martyr told the assembly that he was come to lecture, and would accept their offer as soon as suitable arrangements could be made; but he refused to dispute till the royal permission had been obtained, lest he should be accused of exciting a commotion; he also wished that proper persons should be appointed to take down what passed, and to prevent confusion. The vice-chancellor declared this to be reasonable; and, interposing his authority, dispersed the assembly, order-

ing that Martyr and his opponent should settle the **time, order,** and mode to be observed. After some farther conferences, a regular disputation was arranged, when Martyr argued publicly with three champions of the Romish doctrines for four days. Also Ridley, and some other English divines, argued at Cambridge against the Romish doctrines; and as they referred to the Scriptures, and would not listen to the absurd subtilties of the schoolmen, their opponents had but little to say, and were completely refuted. These disputations were conducted in an open and fair manner. They continued a considerable time, and the Romanists were not checked or restrained as to freedom of speech.

Another and more painful subject is now to be noticed. A number of violent men had associated in Germany, who united the most depraved ferocity with the wildest fanaticism. They caused a general revolt in that country, occasioned much bloodshed, and armies were marched against them. The opinions of these people were various, and in several respects blasphemous, as appears from Luther's controversies with them, and from other sources. Some few were mere visionaries, while others were absolute atheists, who, by their acts, showed that they were not, in any respect, followers of our blessed Lord.

During the former reign, some of these people had been detected and burned; and in April, 1549, it was discovered that several had arrived in England, and were disseminating their errors. Commissioners were appointed to search for and try them. A number of persons were examined; some among them were charged with rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity and the Deity of Christ, and with holding numerous other errors and blasphemies, which most of them recanted.

A female, named Joan Bocher, was also accused before these commissioners, who resolutely maintained opinions which are variously stated by different historians. She does not appear to have held the horrible and blasphemous tenets just noticed, her errors being speculative rather than practical; and she has been improperly ranked among the violent characters already noticed. She had been intimately acquainted with Anne Askew during the reign of Henry the Eighth, and was active in circulating the English New Testament. But, the bloody statute for burning heretics still continuing in force, she was condemned to suffer its horrible penalties, so contrary to the word of God. She was excommunicated for the opinions she held relative to the nature of Christ, and her death was resolved upon by the council after a deliberation, at which Cranmer does not appear to have been present. The king, however, refused to sign the warrant for her execution. He had not been nurtured in the lap of popery, and could not but see that such proceedings were

contrary to the spirit of the Gospel.* Cranmer was desired by the council to endeavour to obtain Edward's consent to this measure. It is painful to add that he undertook this task; his reasonings silenced the king, although they did not satisfy him; and Edward signed the warrant, telling Cranmer, with tears in his eyes, "that if it was wrong, he should answer for it to God." This struck the archbishop very forcibly, and he was unwilling that the woman should be executed. He and Ridley took her to their houses for a considerable time, and used every argument in their power to induce her to change her opinions. At length, on the 2d of May, 1550, she was burned in Smithfield, but not until nearly a year after she was condemned.

These particulars are correctly stated, without attempting to excuse or exaggerate the conduct referred to. A few observations may be added. The action itself is most indefensible; but let us observe, that its authors did not consider that the punishment was inflicted for difference in religion, but for opposition to what they considered the fundamental principles of Christianity; and with this idea, although it appears to have been mistaken, they deceived themselves into a belief that the deed was lawful. *Especially* let us not forget what was the school in which Cranmer and the council had been brought up! They had been educated in the school of POPEERY, which has always condemned as heresy every opinion that has not received its sanction; some dregs of its corrupting dogmas still remained in their minds; and this is another proof of the persecuting principles of Romanism, not an evidence of the tenets of Protestants.

One other individual, and one only, experienced the same fate; but let it be clearly understood, that not a single Romanist suffered from the hands of Protestants. Even Gardiner and Bonner, who, from the beginning of the reign, opposed every attempt at reformation, and openly maintained all the errors of popery (except the supremacy of the pope), were not required to drink of the bitter cup they had ministered to others. After various scenes of evasion, pretended submissions, and secret manœuvres; after abusing their judges, and the rulers of the land, while examining the accusations against them; after the most scurrilous and seditious language, particularly from Bonner, they were merely deprived of their bishoprics, the duties of which they refused to fulfil; and, as their political conduct was too dan-

* Protestants never desired the destruction of Romanists on account of their religious tenets. Roman Catholics in England have suffered the penalties they incurred by treasonable practices, but never as heretics. See "Townsend's Accusations of History against the Church of Rome" for a full refutation of all that Romish writers have advanced on this subject. The reader is not to consider that these observations are intended, in the smallest degree, to extenuate the conduct of Cranmer in this affair, which was most indefensible.

gerous to allow them to remain at liberty, they were committed to the Tower.*

By the dissolution of the monasteries, a large proportion of the property of the nation had changed hands; and its present owners, in their eagerness to increase their lately acquired wealth, often acted so as to excite discontent among the former tenants. The monks, many of whom roamed about the country, inflamed these feelings; and, as the decided manner in which the Reformation now advanced left them little hope of a change in their favour if it once became fully settled, they excited disturbances in several places, availing themselves of the evil principles already mentioned. In Devonshire and the west of England, the rebels were so strong that it was necessary to send troops against them. They presented a list of demands, in which they required the renewal of the Act of the *Six Articles*—that the mass should be in Latin—that the sacrament should be hanged up and worshipped—that images should be set up again—and the Bible called in; with other similar requisitions for the restoration of popery. Such articles sufficiently show who were their authors! Cranmer was ordered to reply to these demands, which he did in an able manner, so that the rebels somewhat lowered their tone, but they still required what could not be complied with. At length, this rebellion, and similar commotions in Norfolk and Yorkshire, were suppressed, but not without bloodshed. The leaders, among whom were several Romish priests, were executed, but their misguided followers received a free pardon.†

These events were speedily followed by the disgrace of the protector. He fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of the Earl of Warwick, afterward Duke of Northumberland, who now assumed the government, and was a bold, unprincipled man. This change alarmed the Reformers, while Gardiner and his party rejoiced. They were, however, in some measure disappointed. The new protector found it to be *his interest* to countenance the Reformation, and accordingly he did so; although, at the same time, he encouraged his followers to scoff at religion. Cranmer and Ridley remonstra-

* Bonner's committal did not take place till after the rebellions. The following is an extract from a letter written to a friend by this Romish prelate while in confinement: "I intend, by God's grace, to send down to you your frail (or basket) again, to have either more pears, or also puddings. If among you I have no puddings, then must I say, as Messer, our priest of the hospital, said to his mad horse in our last journey to Hostin, 'To the devil with you—to the devil—to all the devils!'" *Contrast this epistle with the letters of the martyrs when in confinement!*

† These insurrections weakened the power of the Duke of Somerset. He had also given much offence by destroying several religious buildings and churches, to use the materials for his building at Somerset House. Dr. Haddon relates, that when the graves were opened to remove the bodies, he saw many caskets full of the pope's pardons and indulgences, which had been purchased at a heavy expense, and buried with the dead!

ted with him faithfully, yet mildly; while Latimer, Bradford, and others spoke their sentiments more strongly.

Only a few particulars respecting the Reformation now remain to be mentioned. A new form of ordination was agreed upon, from which the popish ceremonies were excluded. All images which had stood in any church or chapel were ordered to be destroyed, and the prayers to saints were directed to be erased from the primers.

On the death of Pope Paul the Third, Cardinal Pole was chosen for his successor; but, not accepting the office so eagerly as usual, the Italian cardinals changed their minds, and elected Julius the Third in his stead, whose first proceeding was to appoint a mean servant, who had the charge of a favourite monkey, to the dignity of cardinal.

Ridley was now appointed Bishop of London instead of Bonner, and Hooper was made Bishop of Gloucester. The latter was unwilling to wear the Romish vestments then used by the bishops; and differences arose on this question which, for a time, appeared likely to go to serious lengths; but Cranmer and Hooper were too firmly united in the truths of the Gospel to proceed to extremities upon subjects of minor importance, and this unhappy difference was healed with the assistance of Bucer and other foreign Protestants.

In visiting his diocese, Ridley endeavoured farther to do away superstitious practices: with this view, he ordered the altars to be removed, and communion-tables to be substituted in their stead. With these and similar regulations the Romish clergy in general complied, though unwillingly. They objected to the measures of the Reformers; but when ordered by authority, they obeyed *outwardly*, rather than lose their preferments. Cranmer was contented with this degree of obedience, and left their consciences to be settled between God and themselves. Had he been actuated by that spirit which the Romanists affirm, he would have proceeded in a very different manner.

In the year 1551, the articles of religion were set forth by authority; they did not differ essentially from those subsequently promulgated by Queen Elizabeth. Some farther and important improvements were also made in the liturgy.

The Princess Mary had hitherto been permitted to continue the celebration of the mass in her chapel. The king was willing to allow her to retain her own opinions privately, but could not conscientiously allow the continuance in public of a ceremony which he considered to be idolatrous. The ambassador from the Emperor of Germany interposed in her behalf, and the council were fearful of displeasing him, particularly as the emperor interfered with a design to excite new disturbances. Cranmer and others, therefore, waited upon the king, and endeavoured to persuade him that conniving at

an evil was not always wrong. Edward's mind was too enlightened to adopt this sophistry, which savoured rather of the Romish than the Protestant Church. He was, at length, obliged to give way to the representations of the council; but his arguments were so forcible, that Cranmer, in leaving his presence, having met Sir John Cheke, the king's preceptor, took him by the hand, saying he had reason to rejoice that God had honoured him to educate such a scholar; adding, that "the king had more divinity in his little finger than they had in their whole bodies."

The Princess Mary having shown a most bigoted attachment to the doctrines and ceremonies of popery, the king was very uneasy; and as his health was now declining, the Duke of Northumberland devised a plan for securing the crown to Lady Jane Grey, a distant branch of the royal family, and settled a marriage between her and one of his sons. To further these ambitious projects, he resolved on the destruction of the Duke of Somerset, who for some time had lived contentedly in a private station. He was arrested on a charge of high treason; and, although acquitted of that crime, was found guilty upon a charge of having conspired the death of Northumberland, which does not appear to have been founded in truth. He was beheaded on the 22d of January, 1552, and died much lamented by the people.

In Fox, and other historians, the reader will find full particulars of the last moments of the Duke of Somerset: he appears to have been supported by those principles which he had always encouraged in others, although he himself too much neglected them in the day of prosperity. The Lord sometimes calls back his wandering children by the pains of adversity, and we may hope that he was pleased to do so in the case of this nobleman.

During the remainder of the year 1552, various measures were promoted for still farther putting away superstitious ceremonies; but it is not necessary to detail them in these pages.*

For some months the king's health had evidently been in a declining state. At the commencement of this sickness, Bishop Ridley preached before him, and said much upon the duty of all persons to be charitable according to their ability, especially those that were of high rank. After this sermon, the king sent for the bishop, and commanded him to sit down, and be covered. He then went over the principal arguments mentioned in the sermon, and desired Ridley that, as he had shown what was his duty, he would now show in what

* Cranmer and his associates prepared a form of discipline for the government of the Church; and although, in many respects, it carries ecclesiastical authority too high, yet we may observe that heresy was *not* to be punished with death. The king's illness and death prevented the final arrangement of this plan.

manner he should perform it. Ridley was affected, even to tears, at this pleasing conduct of the king, and asked leave to consult with the mayor and aldermen of London upon the subject. Edward approved of this, and desired that they would consider the best manner of relieving the poor. They did so, and Ridley returned in a few days with a plan, dividing the poor into three classes: those who were not in their right minds; those who were sick and destitute; and the wilfully idle and depraved. Upon this, the king ordered the Gray Friar's Monastery, and the lands belonging to it, to be endowed as a school (now Christ's Hospital); St. Bartholomew's for sick and maimed persons; Bridewell and Bethlehem for idle, dissolute characters, and the insane; a provision was also to be made for the relief of poor housekeepers. He hastened the appropriation of these endowments to the laudable purposes just mentioned; and on signing the charters, on the 26th of June, 1553, when he was so weak as scarcely to be able to hold his pen, he thanked God for sparing his life till he had executed this design. The reader will recollect that these noble foundations have all continued to the present time.

As the king felt his end approaching, he was very anxious for the future welfare of his subjects. He knew that if his sister Mary succeeded to the crown, she would destroy all that had been done for the reformation of religion. Of this anxiety Northumberland and some others took advantage, and persuaded him to appoint, by will, that Lady Jane Grey should be his successor.

The other counsellors and the judges were required to consent to this arrangement; after some difficulties, they all assented except Judge Hales, a steady friend to the Reformation, and Cranmer. Much importunity was used to persuade the archbishop to sign the act of settlement, but he steadily refused for a long time; and at length only gave way to the earnest persuasions and commands of the king, and the assurances of the judges and law officers that the king was by law empowered to change the succession to the crown. In fact, Cranmer appears to have submitted his own private judgment in this case to the will and opinions of those who, professionally, were better qualified to decide what was right and lawful as to temporal matters. Judge Hales continued steadfast in his refusal.

Edward gradually wasted away, and expired on the 6th of July, 1553. A few hours before his death he was heard to utter the following prayer, thinking that he was alone:

"Lord, deliver me out of this wretched and miserable life, and take me among thy chosen; howbeit, not my will, but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee: O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet,

for the sake of thy chosen, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, *defend this realm from papistry*, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake."

He then turned round, and, seeing some by-standers, exclaimed, "Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been farther off." His last words were, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit."

Thus died Edward the Sixth, eminent for his learning and abilities, but especially for his piety. A brief view of his reign was necessary, to introduce the history of Queen Mary's persecutions, and her restoration of the Romish faith.

The following extract from the Catechism set forth by the king's authority, in 1553, may be acceptable to the reader, as showing the doctrines taught under his authority. This Catechism is supposed to have been drawn up by Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's.

"By original sin and evil custom, the image of God in man was so darkened, and the judgment of nature so corrupted, that man himself doth not sufficiently understand what difference there is between honesty and dishonesty, right and wrong. The bountiful God, therefore, minding to renew that image in us, first wrought this by the law written in tables, that we might know ourselves, and therein, as it were in a glass, behold the filth and spots of our soul, and stubborn hardness of a corrupted heart. That, acknowledging our sin and perceiving the weakness of our flesh, and the wrath of God fiercely bent against us for sin, we might the more fervently long for our Saviour, Christ Jesus, who, by his death, and precious sprinkling of his blood, hath cleansed and washed away our sins; pacified the wrath of the Almighty Father; by the holy breath of his Spirit createth new hearts in us, and reneweth our minds, after the image and likeness of their Creator, in true righteousness and holiness.

"And that no man is made righteous by the law, it is evident, not only thereby that the righteous liveth by faith, but also, hereby, that no mortal man is able to fulfil all that the law of both the tables commandeth. For we have hinderances that strive against the law, as the weakness of the flesh, froward appetite, and lust naturally engendered. As for sacrifices, cleansings, washings, and other ceremonies of the law, they were but shadows, likenesses, images, and figures of the true and everlasting sacrifice of Jesus Christ, done upon the cross. By the benefit whereof, *ALONE*, all the sins of all believers, even from the beginning of the world, are pardoned by the only mercy of God, and by no desert of ours."

CHAPTER II.

Queen Mary's Accession to the Throne, and her early Proceedings.
A.D. 1553.



The Protestant clergy imprisoned by the Romanists. See page 21.

It is painful to reflect upon many events recorded in history; but the lessons they convey are so instructive, that it would be wrong for us to neglect them. Among this number are the occurrences in the reign of Queen Mary connected with the re-establishment of popery, and the persecution of the followers of the truth in England. As it is not intended in this work to notice events which are merely of a secular nature, it might be expected that these details, for so short a period, would be comprised in a small compass; but, unhappily, almost all the events of that disastrous and bloody reign are intimately connected with the struggles between the Church of Rome and the Reformation, and thus relate to the great contest between darkness and light, which has been carried on from the fall of man to the present day. This spiritual contest is not yet terminated; surely, then, we should seek to gather instruction from the past, and, if

we have not cause to bear these events in mind for our immediate guidance, we should be thankful that our lot has been cast in different days. Let us not partake of the benefits which were purchased by the blood of our martyred forefathers (as means), without, at least, expressing some sense of gratitude that we are permitted to worship God according to the dictates of our conscience, and to enjoy the light revealed to us in the Scriptures. The Israelites of old were commanded constantly to remember their "hard bondage" in Egypt, and that the Lord had heard their voice, and looked on their affliction, and brought them into a land which flowed with milk and honey.—Deut., xxvii., 6-10. Surely, British Protestants ought not to forget the sufferings endured by their ancestors; and, as the Israelites were commanded to declare the particulars of their deliverance to their children in time to come, so ought we to show these things to our children. Can that be a proper spirit which would forbid us to tell of the loving-kindness of the Lord, lest we should offend the enemies of his word, and the persecutors of his people?

But to proceed. In reviewing the events of Queen Mary's reign, which are connected with the history of the Church of Christ, it appears most desirable to pursue a regular course, and notice them according to the order in which they occurred. This will best show the manner in which the Church of Rome dashed to pieces the whole fabric raised by the Reformers, and proceeded fully to reinstate the system of bigotry and superstition which had been gradually removed during the preceding twenty years. This plan will also exhibit the stern, undeviating, unrelenting manner in which that bigoted queen and her cruel associates proceeded in their course; it will likewise show how signally God supported the martyrs and confessors of the truth amid their cruel sufferings, and how remarkably he interposed for the deliverance of his people, when all hope seemed at an end. The particular accounts handed down to us of the testimony borne by these sufferers in the cause of Christ are given so minutely, that it is impossible fully to do them justice in the present work. It is, therefore, proposed only to give a brief, but regular, narrative of events as they occurred, with short accounts of the principal sufferers. But the reader will be able to form some idea of the manner in which popery resumed its iron sway in our land, and he will also be informed respecting the principal points set forth in the history of each of the MARTYRS. Surely, we may hope that their Christian fortitude, and full testimony to the truths of the Gospel, the glad tidings of salvation through the blood of Christ alone, will, by the Divine blessing, continue to profit the souls of many, even in our times.

To understand clearly the state of religion in England when Queen Mary came to the throne, we must remember what were the leading doctrines of Romanism which had been laid aside during the preceding reign. At the death of Henry the Eighth, little had been effected more than casting off *the supremacy of the pope*, the abolition of *monastic establishments*, and a limited permission to use *the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue*. These, however, were very important points to gain; and the fabric of superstition was so far shaken by their removal, as to give way more easily to the calm and persevering efforts of the Reformers during the reign of Edward the Sixth. Thus, at the decease of that excellent prince, all the main objects had been obtained. *Image worship* was prohibited. *Transubstantiation* and the *sacrifice of the mass* were no longer substituted for the Supper of our Lord. *The free use of the Scriptures* was allowed to the laity of every rank and degree. *Traditions of men* were laid aside. *The worship of saints and the Virgin* no longer usurped the place of that honour which is due unto God alone. *Prayers* were no longer offered in an *unknown tongue*. *The clergy were not prohibited from marriage*. The belief in *purgatory, indulgences*, and all the gainful traffic of the Romish Church, were no longer encouraged. But, ABOVE ALL, the great doctrine of salvation by faith in Christ alone was set forth to the people as the only ground for their hope and confidence, and as the only source of good works, and holiness of heart and life.

Although the Reformation had apparently made an extensive progress, many circumstances existed which weakened its influence upon the nation at large. The greater part of the people were only outward professors; they had taken up the profession for selfish and worldly ends, seeking for gain or patronage; upon such persons, of course, no dependance could be placed. Like Demas of old (2 Tim., iv., 10), they loved this present world, and were ready to become Romanists or Protestants, as might best suit their worldly prospects. Such will be found in every church in all ages. A large proportion of the common people remained in ignorance, and, of course, had a natural preference for the tenets held by their fathers. Cranmer and his associates endeavoured to remove this ignorance, but were able to effect but little during the short reign of Edward, as their efforts were counteracted by many of the prelates, and the greater part of the clergy, who still remained Romanists at heart, although outwardly they conformed to the measures from time to time brought forward by authority. A large proportion of them, as already noticed, had formerly been monks or friars, who were preferred to livings, to save a small annual charge to the new possessors of the abbey lands; and, as Burnet observes, "the proceedings in King Edward's time were so gentle and mod-

erate, flowing from the calm temper of Cranmer, and the policy of others, that it was an easy thing for a concealed papist to weather the difficulties of that reign, retaining all his influence, and having prevented that improvement which might have been expected to result from the conscientious labours of an opposite character."

These circumstances account for the small progress which the Reformation had really made at the death of Edward, and the faint opposition made to the bloody and bigoted proceedings of Mary. But there were higher and more sufficient reasons. Burnet justly observes, that "the sins of England did at this time call down from heaven heavy curses on the land." Ridley, Latimer, Bradford, Knox, and others, had borne a faithful testimony to this effect. The former, in particular, had long been apprehensive that judgments were to be looked for, as licentiousness, pride, covetousness, and a hatred and scorn of religion were generally spread among all people, and especially those of the higher ranks; for the Duke of Northumberland and his party encouraged the Reformation to promote their own ambitious designs, while they disliked and opposed the designs of Cranmer and Ridley for the real and spiritual welfare of the people.

This brief sketch may enable the reader partly to understand the state of England at the death of King Edward the Sixth as to religion. It has been repeatedly noticed by historians; and the words of Burnet, with which he concludes his observations on this subject, are too remarkable to be omitted. He says that he mentions these things "that the reader may from hence gather what we may still expect, if we continue guilty of the same, or worse sins, after all that illumination and knowledge with which we have been so long blessed in these kingdoms." Surely, these words are not less applicable to the state of England at the present day than they were a century ago! Is it not incumbent on every Christian earnestly to plead for his country with Him in whose hand are all things, who can either permit the fiery storm of persecution to visit our land, or can say, as of old, to the winds and to the waves, *PEACE, BE STILL!*

On the decease of King Edward the Sixth, his eldest sister, the Princess Mary, was entitled to succeed to the throne, according to the order of succession, and the will of their father, Henry the Eighth. She was a bigoted Romanist, and the probability of her obtaining the crown filled the hearts of all the lovers of the truth with much apprehension. They, however, in general, were prepared to commit this and every event to the will of Him who ordereth all things aright; and we, consequently, find Cranmer and others willing to submit to her, and resisting the ambitious views of the Duke of Northumberland. This nobleman had married one of his sons to

Lady Jane Grey, the daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, who was granddaughter to King Henry the Seventh, and stood next in succession to the throne after the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and he sought to avail himself of the apprehensions entertained by many, as to the evil consequences likely to arise if Mary should be queen. King Edward, in particular, was so fearful lest all he had laboured to effect in the cause of truth should be annulled, that he was easily prevailed upon by Northumberland to make a will leaving the crown to Lady Jane Grey, as has been already mentioned.

That ambitious nobleman endeavoured to entrap the princesses; and Mary was actually within a short distance of London, when she received information of her brother's death; but, on learning that event, she instantly retired to Framlingham in Suffolk, that she might be able to escape to the Continent, if necessary. The Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk immediately went to Lady Jane Grey, and saluted her Queen of England! She was quite ignorant of the designs of her relatives, and was much surprised at this intelligence, but refused to accept a crown to which she had no right during the lives of the princesses. At length, she gave way to the authority and persuasions of her relatives (she was only seventeen years of age), and was proclaimed queen July 7, 1553.

Some few of the Reformers believed that it might be the will of God that the government should be placed in the hands of so pious and excellent a character as the Lady Jane, rather than those of the bigoted Mary. But the greater part of them, and the nation in general, could not approve of this unlawful method of depriving Mary of her right, while those who favoured popery were eager to bestir themselves in her cause. The Duke of Northumberland's proceedings were as ill-judged as they were illegal; in thirteen days the reign of his daughter-in-law was at an end, and she expressed far greater pleasure in resigning the crown than in assuming it.

Mary was chiefly indebted to the Protestants for this easy victory over her enemies. The men of Suffolk were generally favourers of the Reformation, but they could not approve the depriving the rightful heir of her inheritance. They resorted to her in great numbers, and inquired whether she would allow all matters connected with religion to remain as in the days of King Edward. She gave them the *fullest assurances and most positive promises* that she would not make any alteration or change, but would be satisfied if she were allowed privately to follow her own religion. Upon this, the nobility and gentry of that county raised forces, and took such effectual measures, that Mary was proclaimed queen on the 17th of July, and entered London in triumph on the 3d of August.

On her arrival at the Tower, she sent for the lord-mayor and aldermen; and, among other matters, confirmed her declaration already mentioned, by telling them, "that although her own conscience was stayed (or fixed) in matters of religion, yet she meant not to compel or strain other people's consciences, otherwise than God should, as she trusted, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth."

Thus Mary was placed upon the throne of England principally in consequence of her promise that she would not alter the Protestant religion, as then established by law! But she broke this promise without offering even an excuse for so doing; thus she practically evidenced that, in her opinion, *Romanists are justified in breaking faith with heretics*. This principle was openly maintained by popes and doctors of the Church of Rome in former times, and they declared that "an oath taken against the benefit of the Church is not binding." But of late years, several universities in Roman Catholic countries, and the greater part of the modern writers of that Church, have denied that this doctrine is *now* held by Romanists. In point of fact, the question stands thus. The Council of Constance, in the year 1414, passed a decree, which declared that the promises made to heretics were not binding, and, accordingly, committed John Huss to the flames, notwithstanding he had written letters from the Emperor Sigismund, pledging his royal word for his safety. The last general council of the Romish Church—the well-known Council of Trent, held *since* the Reformation—invited Protestants to attend, and state why they left the Romish communion. They declined, upon the ground of what had taken place at Constance. So far from alleging that such a principle did not exist, the Council of Trent declared that no authority, particularly that of the Council of Constance, should interfere with the safety promised in that *instance*; of course, admitting that the principle was applicable to others which might occur. The Council of Trent was the last held in the Church of Rome, and its decrees are received implicitly by Romanists at the present day.*

* See, also, the authorities quoted in "A Picture of Popery," page 47. In the profession of faith now to be made by every true Roman Catholic, are these words: "I also profess, and undoubtedly receive, all things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the Holy Council of Trent." Then how can we believe that this doctrine is no longer held by the Church of Rome? for, as it was sanctioned by their *last* general council, and as such is recognised in the profession of faith now used, surely the opinions of individuals cannot be considered as giving so faithful an interpretation of the real tenets of that Church. Although many advocates of the Church of Rome state that they do not hold this doctrine, yet they openly avow the lawfulness (in their opinion) of breaking promises in many cases. In a recent instance, one (see the "Protestant," No. 29) declares he considers this lawful, "When, before the promise is fulfilled, the circumstances become so changed that the person promising, had he foreseen these circumstances, would never have made the promise!!" Such a doctrine requires no comment. See Psalm xv., 4. The words of the decree of the Council of Constance are, "That no safe conduct (*assurance of safety*) granted by secular princes to heretics, or persons accu-

Certainly, Queen Mary's Protestant subjects had reason to expect, at least, toleration from her. In addition to their exertions in her behalf, and her positive promise that no changes in religion should be attempted, they had a claim upon her gratitude of still longer standing, for Cranmer interposed in her behalf, and persuaded Henry to lay aside his intention of putting her to death; which had gone so far, that her mother wrote her a letter, still extant, encouraging her to suffer patiently, submitting to the king's commands in all matters *except* religion.

This change in the government took place almost without bloodshed. Only a few individuals were put to death at the time as traitors. In the general histories will be found the particulars of the trial and execution of the Duke of Northumberland, who, after his condemnation, professed himself a Romanist, declaring he had always been so in his heart; and when, on the scaffold, he exhorted the people to return to what he called the Catholic faith.

Mary now determined to restore the authority of the pope and the Romish religion. Her own desire was to do this immediately, and in the fullest manner; for which purpose she desired that Cardinal Pole might be sent over as legate. But Gardiner, who, with Bonner, had been released from the Tower, saw that such proceedings would be too precipitate, as they would have alarmed the possessors of the abbey lands; and he endeavoured to persuade her to proceed with more caution. Finding that the queen's zeal made her unwilling to listen to his crafty, temporizing advice, he wrote to the Emperor of Germany, who, at his suggestion, delayed Pole's journey, and advised the queen to proceed with less haste. To this she reluctantly consented. Gardiner was appointed lord chancellor, and had the chief management of affairs committed to him, upon his engaging both to the queen and the emperor, that he would restore the pope's supremacy, and bring back the nation to the profession of that faith, which asserts itself to be the only true belief.

The Romish bishops were restored to their sees. Ridley, the Protestant bishop of London, was committed to the Tower for a sermon he preached at Paul's Cross, on one of the two Sundays during which Lady Jane Grey was consid-

ered of heresy in the hope of reclaiming them, ought to prejudice the Catholic faith or ecclesiastical jurisdiction nor prevent these persons from being *examined, judged, and punished* as justice shall require, if these heretics refuse to revoke their errors, even although they come to the place where they are judged only from a reliance upon the faith of the safe conduct, without which they would not have come. And he who has promised that they should be safe shall not, in such a case, be obliged to keep his promise by any engagement he may have entered into, because he has done all that depended upon himself!" Let Romanists show that their infallible church has repealed or condemned this INFAMOUS decree! To this another was added, especially referring to John Huss, which declares that, according to natural, Divine, and human right (or law), no promise to the prejudice of the Catholic faith ought to be observed! See L'Enfant's "*History of the Council of Constance*," liv. iv., §1.

30 MARY'S INGRATITUDE TO THE SUFFOLK MEN.

ered as queen, in which he spoke of Mary's aversion to the Reformation, and strongly represented the evils which must ensue if she obtained the crown. On the other Sunday, Rogers, the vicar of St. Sepulchre's, preached. He confined his discourse to the Gospel of the day, but his having preached in public on that occasion was not forgotten by his enemies.

Bonner lost no time in taking possession of his see, and publicly attended the sermon at Paul's Cross, on the 13th of August; on which occasion, Bourn, one of his chaplains, preached before him. The preacher extolled Bonner in high terms, and spoke disrespectfully of King Edward. This was very displeasing to the citizens of London, who had experienced Bonner's cruelty in former times, and deeply lamented the death of their beloved monarch. A tumult arose, which the mayor and aldermen endeavoured to repress, but could not, till stones, and even a dagger, had been hurled at the preacher, who would probably have suffered injury, had not Bradford, then a prebendary of St. Paul's, stood forward in the pulpit before the preacher, and, by reasoning in a calm and Christian spirit, allayed the wrath of the people, while he protected his person; so that he and Rogers were able to conduct him safely into the grammar-school. This they did, screening Bonner under their gowns, and so leading him through the angry crowd, one of whom told Bradford that he would suffer punishment for his kindness, instead of receiving a recompense. This warning was soon fulfilled; and on the Wednesday following, Bradford was committed to the Tower, charged with exciting a riot and sedition, which he had, in fact, allayed at the risk of his life!

The papists eagerly availed themselves of this disturbance; and on the 18th of August a proclamation appeared, in which the queen declared that she was of the religion she had professed *from her infancy*, but did not intend to compel any of her subjects to adopt it *until authorized by common consent* (or act of Parliament); but, in the mean time, she strictly ordered that none should preach or expound Scripture without special license.

A letter was addressed to the Bishop of Norwich, commanding him to see to the execution of these injunctions. This was directed particularly against the Suffolk men, who had presumed on the queen's promises and the services they had rendered her, and opposed the introduction of popery.*

* The supplication afterward addressed by the men of Norfolk and Suffolk to her commissioners, beautifully sets forth the way in which the principles of the Gospel always unite the precepts, "Fear God and honour the king;" the following is an extract:

"We profess before God, we think, if the holy word of God had not taken some root among us, we could not, in times past, have done that poor duty of ours which was done in assisting the queen. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden duty."

Upon hearing of this proclamation, they sent some of their number to London, respectfully to remind Mary of her declarations. The answer they received plainly showed what was to be expected. "Forsomuch," said she, "as you, being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall, one day, well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same." As a practical explanation, one of their number, a gentleman named *Dobbe*, was put in the pillory for three days! The notice taken of those who had been concerned in supporting Lady Jane was also proportioned to their religious opinions. The Lord Chief-justice Montague had very unwillingly drawn up the letters patent for Lady Jane's succession at the express command of Edward the Sixth; but he was imprisoned for six weeks, heavily fined, and turned out of his office, although he had sent his son with twenty men to assist Queen Mary, as soon as the king was dead; while Judge Bromley, who had willingly forwarded all Northumberland's views in favour of Lady Jane, was made chief-justice in his room. But Montague was a Protestant, and Bromley a papist! This is noticed, because Romish authors assert that those who suffered in this reign were punished for their opposition to Queen Mary's accession to the throne; when, in reality, no Protestant, however loyal, was allowed to escape; and no Romanist, however strongly he might have taken part against her, unless actually in arms, was punished.

These things plainly showed that Mary did not mean to rest satisfied with the Romish religion, as modified by her father, but intended to compel the nation to that decided profession of popery which it was notorious she herself had always maintained. It was the more evident, as she already had mass celebrated as formerly in her own chapel, and prayers for her deceased brother offered up after the Romish ceremonial; indeed, the service, at the time of his burial (8th of August), would have been according to that ritual, had not Cranmer firmly resisted, and buried his master, using the Protestant service; which was the last public occasion on which he was allowed to officiate. He was first detained as prisoner in his own house, and the Romanists gave out that he offered to say mass, and was ready to recant. He then published a declaration, stating his firm adherence to the Protestant faith, which was eagerly received by the people. Almost every scrivener was employed in making copies; some were brought to the council, who sent for Cranmer, and committed him to the Tower. Bishops Hooper and Coverdale, Latimer, Bradford, Saunders, Rogers, and many other active preachers of the Gospel, were also committed to prison during the months of August and September. These sufferings also extended to some of higher rank who maintained

the doctrines of the Gospel. Strype has preserved an interesting letter to one of this number, who appears to have been Lord Russel, at that time a prisoner. The following are extracts: "That lesson which in plenty and brightness we would not learn, it shall be tried how we will learn it in scarcity and darkness; and because we would not serve God the true way, we shall prove how we can bear the false, and suffer idolatry before our eyes." "To bewail the private and common miseries of our days, hath with it a present delight, and also is the only and sure way to attain to the comfort which the promises of Christ in the Gospel do bring. Even as Christ doth tell us, when he saith, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you;' and in another place, 'Happy are they that mourn, for they shall find comfort.' Now you be in God's own schoolhouse, where you have not so many to trouble you as when you went wandering in the wide world."

The greater part of the foreign Protestants were sent away, and their churches taken from them. Above a thousand English had already left the kingdom, seeing the probability of a severe persecution. Most of them escaped in disguise as servants to the French and German Protestants; upon which the council ordered that none should go beyond sea, except they really were foreigners. Among the number that left were several of the clergy, who, having no cures or being dismissed, considered themselves at liberty to depart; while those who had the care of souls were unwilling to leave their flocks as a prey to the wolves which had broken into the fold.

In many places, the papists did not wait for the decision of Parliament as to what religion should be followed, but drove away the Protestant pastors, and at once restored the mass and its ceremonies.* On the 21st of September, Lord Dudley was buried at Westminster, with a grand procession, and all the Romish rights, attended by persons in authority. The coronation took place on the 1st of October, according to the ceremonial used in the days of popery. On the 4th of the same month, the Archbishop of York and several others were sent to the Tower; and on the next day, the Parliament was opened with a solemn mass to the Holy Ghost. The Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, perceiving this popish ceremony about to begin, withdrew, for which they were called to account and deprived of their sees.

Historians state that the elections to this Parliament were managed with much care, to procure the return of persons

* The first celebration of the mass in a parish church in London was at St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, on the 23d of August. The priest of this parish hastened to show his return to Romanism by parting with his wife, whom he sold to a butcher. He appears to have been a man of infamous character, and was publicly carted about London, November 24, in the same year, by order of the magistrates.—See *Strype*. The infallibility of the priesthood had not then been fully restored.

attached to the Romish religion, and that in many places violence was used for this purpose. One of the first acts passed by this Parliament declared that Henry's marriage with Queen Catharine was lawful, and laid the blame of the divorce entirely upon Cranmer. This was a strong instance of Gardiner's craft and effrontery; since it was a well-known fact; that he had himself been active in promoting the divorce long before Cranmer was known to King Henry, and had actually been joined with Cranmer in the later proceedings. But he was now willing to retrace his steps, and forward the queen's design of restoring the Romish religion. He was more anxious to cause the divorce to be set aside by the Parliament, as he had promised that it should be done without the pope's authority, which he knew the nation was not yet prepared to acknowledge. This act, also, as a matter of course, set aside the Princess Elizabeth's succession to the throne, and was mixed up with other political views, which are noticed in the histories of the day.

Another act repealed *all the laws* made respecting religion during the reign of King Edward the Sixth; and enacted that, after the 29th of December, there should be no other form of Divine service than what was used during the last year of Henry the Eighth, which, of course, restored the popish breviaries, the mass, and all its ceremonies. By referring to the account of the Reformation in King Edward's reign, the reader will perceive how extensive an alteration was now made at once.*

Another act was passed against all who should molest any preacher or priest during Divine service, or "should break or abuse the holy sacrament," or break altars, crucifixes, or crosses.

Cranmer, with Lady Jane Grey and her husband, were brought to trial at Guildhall on the 13th of November, and condemned for high treason against Queen Mary. They all admitted their offence in *this* respect; but Cranmer appealed to his judges, who well knew that he had refused to consent to the exclusion of Mary till those who were acquainted with the law had declared that it was legal; having made this appeal, he submitted himself to the mercy of the queen.

By this proceeding he was, according to the law of the land, deprived of his archbishopric; but as Gardiner had a distant hope of succeeding to that dignity, and wished to

* This act effected more than, to a cursory reader, it would appear to do. Historians who notice the dissolution of the monasteries, have described the *horrible vices* prevalent therein as being one cause why the nation willingly joined in their being no longer suffered to continue. The vices nurtured in these hotbeds of corruption had become so notorious, that one of the early measures adopted by Henry, *after* his quarrel with the pope, was to pass an act declaring these crimes to be felonious, and punishable with death. This act was made still more efficient by an alteration in the reign of Edward; but *it was repealed* by this statute of Queen Mary, and not restored till after her death!

34 PROCEEDINGS TO RESTORE THE PAPAL AUTHORITY.

keep Cardinal Pole from it, he caused that the archbishop should be considered above secular jurisdiction till judged according to canon law. Thus Cranmer was only set aside from exercising his office, and kept in prison; while, by pardoning what was called his treasons, the queen persuaded herself that she thereby made him a sufficient return for his former kindness to her. At the same time, she resolved that he should suffer for heresy, *an offence which she never forgave*. "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

But this Parliament was not sufficiently obsequious to the queen. The true reasons are fully stated by Rapin, Burnet, and others; and although rather of a secular than religious nature, yet, like all the events of this unhappy reign, they were too much influenced by the principles of Romanism not to require some notice.

As soon as Mary succeeded to the throne, Cardinal Dandino, the popish legate at Brussels, sent over a priest named Commendone, to see how matters stood, and to endeavour to promote the restoration of popery. This agent was successful beyond expectation. He obtained a secret interview with the queen, and ascertained her willingness to re-establish the papal authority as speedily as circumstances permitted. The pope and cardinals recollected how much wealth had been derived from England in former times; and with that greediness, which even Romish writers admit prevailed in the popedom, they felt no little pleasure at the prospect that our nation would again become tributary to the holy see. Mass was publicly celebrated; an unusual quantity of indulgences were distributed on this occasion; and they blasphemously applied the parable of the shepherd seeking the lost sheep in the wilderness as the method for them to pursue, and resolved to endeavour to *persuade* England again to come under their yoke! In conclusion, it was determined that Cardinal Pole should proceed as legate, with full powers to reconcile England to the pope.

Such a hasty proceeding did not quite suit Gardiner's politics; and, knowing the emperor's desire to promote a marriage between his son Philip, king of Spain, and Queen Mary, he availed himself of that circumstance. Being aware that the nation would not at once readily give up the abbey lands, and submit to the full absurdities of popery, and also to the queen's marriage with a foreigner, he, with his usual prudence, wished the marriage first to be accomplished, as it would give additional power to the queen for effecting her superstitious designs. He therefore induced the emperor to delay Cardinal Pole's journey, and, for the present, to keep out of sight the intention of restoring the authority of the pope. This made a breach between Pole and Gardiner, who judged rightly of each other; the former being a weak,

superstitious character, only zealous in the cause of popery, while the latter was a crafty, insidious politician, who scrupled at nothing that stood in the way of his political manœuvres.

The intended marriage becoming known, much discontent was excited, both on religious and national grounds; and servile as the Parliament had been on other matters, an address was voted, beseeching the queen not to marry a stranger. The Parliament was dissolved in consequence, and Gardiner informed the emperor that the marriage of his son could not be accomplished without considerable sums of money being expended to bribe persons of influence. The emperor, accordingly, borrowed a sum equal to *four millions* of our money, which was applied for this purpose.

The convocation of the clergy had met at the same time as the Parliament, Bonner being appointed to preside! Harpfield, his chaplain, was selected to preach at the opening of the session, and chose for his text "Feed the flock." (See Acts, xx., 28.) He took occasion to commend Queen Mary and the popish clergy in the grossest manner. Among other misapplications of Scripture, he parodied the words written of Deborah (Judges, v., 7, 8), applying them to the queen, thus: "Religion ceased in England, it was at rest until Mary arose—a virgin arose in England. The Lord chose new wars." And, contrasting the queen with her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, he said, "Mary hath chosen the best part." Care had been taken that no clergy should be elected to the convocation except such as favoured the Romish doctrines; but Philpot, Haddon, and four others, who were Protestants, had a right to sit in the assembly as deans and archdeacons, and they resolved to bear their testimony to the truth.

Weston, the dean of Westminster, being chosen prolocutor, or speaker, opened the business on the 18th of October, by calling their attention to Edward the Sixth's Catechism, as "very pestiferous, and full of heresies;" and likewise to the Book of Common Prayer, as being "very abominable," and proposed that all persons should fully speak their opinions thereon at their next meeting. But, instead of following this method, he then proposed they should sign a paper, declaring the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and condemning the Catechism.

Philpot stood up, and spoke upon the impropriety of requiring men to consent to such matters without previous consideration, and stated his surprise to see so many ancient and learned men gathered together to maintain *old traditions*, rather than the truth of God's holy word. He therefore urged that the subject should be publicly discussed, as had been promised, and some other persons added to their number,

such as Bishop Ridley. An appearance of consenting to *this* reasonable proposition was made, but it was not acceded to.

On the 23d, the convocation again assembled: many noblemen and others were present. Weston began by stating that, in permitting this disputation, it was not intended to call in doubt the points laid down, which he termed "the truth," but only to satisfy the five or six who doubted. He then demanded if they were inclined to argue upon the subject. Haddon and Aylmer, seeing that they should be silenced by numbers and clamour, and that the assistance of Ridley and others was not granted, declared that they considered it useless to debate under such circumstances. Cheyney was next called upon; and he stated his objection from St. Paul's repeatedly calling the sacrament bread, even after it was consecrated, and quoted the words of Origen and Theodoret in confirmation. To this a Romanist replied with the quibbling, evasive answer usually given from a misinterpretation of Aristotle's words, by which the school divines sought to wrest Scripture to their purpose with the assistance of a *heathen philosopher*! Aylmer was too good a scholar to allow this to pass, and pointed out the fallacy of such arguments. Philpot then spoke, explaining the passage from Theodoret, and showing that it could not be set aside, as the Romanists endeavoured to do.

The disputation became general. It was, however, only a few against many, and it would be both tedious and unprofitable to the general reader to give a minute account of the arguments brought forward. The debate is fully recorded by Fox, and was also printed in Latin at the time. Those who have leisure and inclination to go through the whole will notice the quibbling, sophistical arguments of the Romanists, and will admire the able manner in which Philpot and his companions met them on their own ground. One instance from this day's debate may suffice. By a regular train of reasoning, Dean Haddon led the Romanists to assert that our Lord ate his own natural body at the last supper with his disciples! In this absurdity he left them; while Philpot proceeded to reason with them, that such a supposition could not be granted, as "receiving Christ's body had a promise of remission of sin, and He had none to be remitted." The Romanists endeavoured to reply, but entangled themselves deeper in confusion; at length, Weston demanded of Philpot whether he would argue regularly against "the natural presence," as he termed it, of Christ in the sacrament? To this Philpot answered in the affirmative, provided he were suffered to speak without interruption. He was, accordingly, appointed to begin the disputation the next day of their assembling.

On the 25th Philpot began, as had been arranged, and

spoke in Latin, intending, thereby, to disprove Weston's assertion that he had no learning. Weston stopped him, and refused to allow him to make a speech, stating that he should only propose his arguments, and that in English. Philpot then began to state what was the gross and carnal idea of Christ's presence, which he purposed to argue against; but Weston cried out, "Hold your peace, or make a short argument." Philpot then declared his opinion, that the sacrament of the altar, or the mass, now again ordered to be received, was no sacrament, nor was Christ present in it. This he offered to maintain before the queen and the council, against any six opponents; adding, that if he was not able to maintain what he asserted, he was willing to be burned before the gates of the palace.

At this there was a great outcry that he was mad, and Weston threatened to send him to prison if he would not cease his speaking. Philpot then exclaimed, "O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken!"

Some of the persons present urged Weston to allow the freedom of speech he had promised; upon which, he consented that Philpot should make a short argument. The reformer then urged that Christ was in heaven, and not upon earth, quoting the words, "I leave the world and go unto the Father;" observing that the disciples had said, "Now thou speakest plainly, and without a parable."

Not being able to answer the Scripture by Scripture, the Romanists had recourse to the fathers. Dr. Chedsey quoted a passage from Chrysostom, "that Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him." Philpot was proceeding to reply on their own grounds, but Weston again interrupted him, declaring that the argument was *unanswerable*, and endeavouring to bear him down by clamour. Philpot, however, insisted upon being heard, and showed that in this passage Chrysostom referred to Christ's taking upon him our human nature, and, by his sufferings, uniting us to himself; so that, when he ascended to heaven with his natural body, those who are his chosen people, the members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones, as St. Paul expresses himself (Ephesians the fifth), were left behind. He also referred to the words of the same father, a few lines preceding, where he expressly stated that Christ, when he ascended into heaven, left his flesh, not carnally, but mystically, even as St. Paul stated (Galatians the third), where he says, "As many as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."

The Romanists could not resist the force of this reasoning; and Weston refused to allow Philpot to speak any longer, although reminded of his public declaration that fair oppor-

tunity for argument should be allowed on this occasion. Dean Pye then promised that he should be answered *another day*! Philpot, justly offended at this evasion, exclaimed, "A sort of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which by the Catholic doctrine of the Scripture you are not able to maintain!"

Aylmer then argued upon the same point, referring to passages in the Greek fathers so ably, that his Romish opponent was obliged to request a day's time to prepare an answer. Dean Haddon followed, and also silenced his opponent. Mr. Perne then brought forward some arguments against transubstantiation, for which Weston found fault with him, because he had previously signed their paper. It was now late, and the prolocutor closed the proceedings by praising them for their learning, but declared that all reasoning must be laid aside, and the orders and opinions of "the holy church" received!

On the 27th, the debate was resumed. It turned again upon the opinions of Theodoret; upon which Haddon quoted the words of that father, saying expressly, that the bread and wine remained the same after the consecration as they were before. Weston attempted to use the scholastic quibble that Theodoret meant not the substance, but the essence. This was easily refuted by Cheyney; the Romanists then asserted that Theodoret was a heretic! The argument, however, was continued about substances and accidents; according to the quibbles of Aristotle's followers, that the accidents of things, and not the substances, were seen.* Cheyney at once exposed this fallacy, by asking the noblemen present, what they would think if, after riding forty miles on horseback, they were told that they had not seen their horses all day, but only the colour of them! And that, by the same absurd mode of reasoning, it must be said that Christ saw not Nathaniel under the fig-tree, but only the colour of him!

After more evasive arguments, Cheyney quoted the words of Hesychius, another father, who states, that in the Church of Jerusalem, the bread and wine not used in the communion were burned; and he asked whether the ashes which remained were the ashes of the body of Christ, or of bread; adding, that as they were substance, they could only come from substance; so if the bread, after consecration, only re-

* This jargon of the schools was used as a method of accounting for the bread remaining in appearance unchanged, when, as they said, it had become the body of Christ. They allowed that the appearance, or accident, as they termed it, remained, but said that the substance was no longer bread. To such a miserable state was learning reduced during the ages of popery, that men would quibble in this manner, and seriously call it argument!

remained as an accident (that is, in *appearance* only), the ashes could not be from bread. Harpsfield attempted to reply by a long argument upon the omnipotence of God; and ended by declaring that the ashes were either bread, or the body of Christ, and that it was a miracle! Cheyney smiled, and said he must then leave it.

Weston then asked whether these men had not been sufficiently answered. Some of the clergy said, Yes; but the by-standers exclaimed, No! No! Weston, in a rage, declared that he had asked not the opinion of the rude multitude, but of the clergy. It should be remembered he had offered that this should be a public disputation. He then asked the reformers whether they would, for three days, answer all the arguments which should be alleged against them. Had-don, Cheyney, and Aymer declined, as they saw that it was intended to entrap them, and said it was useless to dispute upon a matter which was already determined, notwithstanding all they might allege to the contrary. Philpot, however, offered to answer them all as long as they pleased; upon which, Weston declared he was fit to be sent to Bedlam!

Aymer then showed that he and his companions had not called for the dispute, but had only desired to be allowed to state their opinions.

On the 30th, Weston demanded of Philpot whether he was prepared to prosecute his argument. The archdeacon proceeded to do so; but, after much cavilling and interruption, Weston again silenced him, declaring that he was unlearned and mad, fitter to be sent to Bedlam than to be among the grave and learned men there present; one that never would be answered, but troubled the whole house; and proposed that he should not be allowed to come into the convocation-house again! To this the clergy in general assented, but some reminded Weston that such a proceeding might give occasion for people to say that Philpot had been expelled for stating his opinions. Weston then said he might be present if he would come in a long gown and tippet (the Romish dress), and only speak when he was told to do so! This privilege Philpot, of course, declined, and Weston closed the debate by saying, "You have the word, but we have the sword;" thus truly pointing out, as Burnet observes, whence the strength of the respective parties was derived.

Such was the issue of this famous disputation; and all who compared it with the public debates upon the same subject in King Edward's time, saw how differently it was conducted. The conferences were then held in the universities, and lasted for a considerable time before any decision was declared; all were free to speak, and had full opportunity given to utter their opinions, so long as they confined themselves to the subject. The debate was managed with deco-

rum, and free access to books was given. But on the present occasion the point was first decided by the Romanists, and only the appearance of argument allowed. It was also carried on in the midst of London, and the government gave all possible encouragement to the prevailing party. The affair was finally terminated by the queen's dissolving the convocation, as well as the Parliament.

The particulars of this debate should be read with care by every Protestant. They recall to the mind some modern occurrences in the sister kingdom when the word of God was publicly treated "as an unholy thing;" and those who conquered in argument were overcome by the clamour raised by the Romanists, who had themselves first called for the discussion, and were the first to decline its continuance.

The Romish clergy and laity now saw what measures were decided upon, and began to set up the Rood* and other images in the churches. They introduced in schools and elsewhere the pageants and processions customary in the services of the Church of Rome, which had been laid aside during King Edward's reign.

A few particulars of the treatment experienced by Thomas Mountain, minister of St. Michael's Tower Royal, in the city of London, will show how ready the papists were to interfere with the reformed service, even before the Parliament had declared that it should be discontinued. These facts will give a lively idea of the treatment early experienced by the ministers of the Gospel, although it was still permitted them by law to attend to their duties without interruption.

On the Sunday after the queen's coronation (October 8th), Mr. Mountain was administering the communion according to the form appointed by King Edward's laws, which were as yet unrepealed. The greater part of his parishioners, and other pious citizens, were assembled on this occasion, probably the rather as this service was already discontinued in many parishes. As he himself relates, "While I was breaking the bread at the table, and saying to the communicants, *Take and Eat this, and Drink this*, there were standing by, to see and hear, certain serving-men belonging to the Bishop of Winchester; among whom one most shamefully blasphemed God, saying (with a horrid oath), 'Standest thou there yet, saying, Take and eat, Take and drink? Will not this fashion be left yet? You shall be made to sing another song within these few days!'"

These spies made their report; on the Wednesday following, Gardiner sent for Mr. Mountain, and, as soon as he saw him, exclaimed, "Thou heretic! how darest thou be so bold

* A carved representation of the crucifixion, with figures representing the Virgin Mary and St. John, which was usually set up in churches in a small gallery, so that it could easily be seen by the congregation.

as to use that schismatical service still, seeing that God hath sent us a *Catholic queen*? You shall know the price of it, if I do live." "My lord," replied the faithful minister, "I am no heretic; for that way which you count heresy, so worship we the living God, as our forefathers have done and believed (I mean Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the rest of the holy apostles and prophets); even so do I believe to be saved, and by no other means." Gardiner then broke out into a torrent of abusive and profane language, and at length accused him of treason, and ordered him to be taken to the Marshalsea prison; adding, "This is one of our new-fangled brethren, that speaketh against all good works." "No, my lord," replied Mountain, "I never preached or spoke against the good works which God hath commanded; for therein every Christian man ought to exercise himself all the days of his life, and yet not to think himself to be justified thereby, but rather to account himself an unprofitable servant when he hath done the best he can." "That is true," said the bishop; "your fraternity was, is, and ever will be, altogether unprofitable in all ages, and good for nothing but the fire! Tell me, what good works were done in King Harry's or King Edward's days?"

To this demand Mountain was easily able to reply; and did so, not forgetting to enumerate the casting off the pope's authority, and the suppression of idolatry and superstition; and that all false and feigned religious men and women were dismissed from their idling in cloisters, and taught to serve God in spirit and in truth; no longer worshipping him in vain, "devouring widows' houses, under pretence of long prayers." He then referred to the endowments of King Henry, and the noble charities of King Edward.

Gardiner next tried him by the usual Romish Shibboleth, his opinion respecting the sacrament of the altar, and the offering of the mass. Mountain declared he did not believe in it; the bishop demanding who had taught him, he said it was Jesus Christ, the high bishop and priest of our souls, who, by the offering up of his own blessed body on the cross, once for all, and there shedding his most precious blood, hath cleansed us from all our sins. He was taken to the Marshalsea, and fetters were riveted on his feet. The keeper then led him to a dungeon in that prison, called "Bonner's Coal-house," and said he was to be kept a prisoner, and no man allowed to speak to him. Mountain replied, "Content; and yet will I speak with one, I trust, every day, and ask you no leave." "Who is that?" said the keeper; "would I might know him." "Would that you did," said the faithful minister; "then were you a great deal nearer to the kingdom of God than you are now. Repent of your papistry, and believe the Gospel; so

shall you be sure to be saved, but not else." The keeper shook his head, and left him.

Many others were committed to the same prison, in reality for their religious opinions, though, as yet, this was not openly avowed; but other pretexts were, in general, alleged. They were, however, called heretics; and about ten days after Mountain was sent to the prison, the bishop's almoner brought a basket of provisions, but with a strict charge to the keeper that the heretics should not have a scrap! As the almoner left the prison, he saw a text of Scripture which had been painted over the door during King Edward's reign. "What have we here?" said he to the keeper; "a piece of heresy! I command you, in my Lord's name, that it be put out before I come again."

Thus closed the first year after the accession of Queen Mary. It was, indeed, a day of darkness and of gloominess; "a day of clouds and of thick darkness." A time of sifting evidently was at hand, and the faithful followers of Christ earnestly sought to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man, that they might "be able to withstand in the evil day; and having done all, to stand."

CHAPTER III.

The Death of Lady Jane Grey, and farther Proceedings against the Protestants.—A.D. 1554.



A Romish procession—the people bowing down to the host.

THE proceedings at the commencement of 1554 were very similar to those at the conclusion of the preceding year. Dr. Crome and many other persons, both clergy and laity, were committed to prison, because they refused to comply with the recent changes in religion. But Gardiner and the queen clearly saw that the nation could not be brought back to the pope's authority, nor the superstitions of the Church of Rome be fully established, without the assistance of foreign power; and the queen's marriage with Philip, prince of Spain, was earnestly promoted. This excited much discontent throughout the nation; many, who desired the restoration of the Romish religion, were very averse to coming under the authority of Philip. They shuddered at the recollection of the Spanish cruelties in America, and were unwilling that the *Inquisition* should be established in England. Several of the nobility and gentry planned insurrections to prevent the

nation from falling under the Spanish yoke, but only one was carried into effect. Sir Thomas Wyatt and others assembled at Maidstone, from whence they marched to London, and, at one time, were near the palace; but Wyatt does not appear to have intended any personal injury to the queen. He had been one of the first that declared for her in Kent, the preceding year. This hasty and ill-concerted rising was soon suppressed. The Romanists have accused the Protestants of being promoters and main actors in this affair; but the charge is false, and easily disproved. Wyatt himself was a Romanist; none of his proceedings were at all connected with religion; and in the queen's proclamation against him, no mention is made of the gospellers. The particulars, therefore, may be left to the secular historian, only observing that, when Wyatt was in possession of Southwark, he offered to release Mountain and his fellow-prisoners, who were confined in the Marshalsea for heresy; but they refused the liberty offered in such a manner, thus plainly showing they had no concern in the rebellion. Some who were charged with heresy even came forward to defend their queen; among these, the yeoman of her guard were the most active, a large proportion of whom were favourers of the Reformation. But when the insurrection was quelled, Mary and her counsellors determined to avail themselves of what had passed as a pretext for fresh severities against the Protestants. The rebels taken in arms, however, first felt her displeasure. On the Sunday after the insurrection was over (February 11), Gardiner preached at court, and exhorted the queen to use no mercy, but to act with the extremity of justice towards these unhappy men. Gallows were set up at all the gates, in Cheapside, and in other principal parts of London; and, on the Wednesday following, forty-eight of the rebels were executed, and several of them quartered in the public streets. On these proceedings, Knox writes, "I find that Jezebel, that cursed idolatress, caused the blood of the prophets of God to be shed, and Naboth to be martyred unjustly for his own vineyard; but I think she never erected half so many gallows in all Israel as Mary hath done in London alone!"

This *black week* began with a still more painful tragedy. The reader will remember how unwillingly LADY JANE GREY suffered herself to be proclaimed queen, and how gladly she resigned the crown. It was so notorious that she acted merely in obedience to others, and her excellent character and her youth pleaded so strongly in her behalf, that even bloody Mary could not, at first, resolve to order the sentence against her to be executed. But she had always disliked Lady Jane, especially for her religion;* and the present occasion

* Fox and others relate that Lady Jane, when very young, was at New-hall, in Essex, where Queen Mary (then princess) resided. One day, passing through the

seemed a fit opportunity for putting her to death, although Wyat had not made any mention of restoring her authority, his only design being to prevent the marriage of the queen with the Prince of Spain. It should also be noticed that Lady Jane was not beheaded until *after* Wyat's insurrection was entirely quelled. To the pious sufferer it was rather a relief than otherwise, for she had lain under sentence of death for upward of six months, well knowing that the first occasion would be taken against her. Under these feelings she wrote to her father, the Duke of Suffolk, who was condemned to suffer for attempting an insurrection in Warwickshire. Instead of upbraiding him with being the cause of her death through his ambitious projects, she entreated him to moderate his grief, and added, "Though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and, as you well know, continually persuaded, I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws." She concludes, "And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand: whose death, at hand, although to you, perhaps, it may seem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure, with Christ our Saviour; in whose steadfast faith (if it be lawful for the daughters so to write to the father) may the Lord, that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven."

When we consider the circumstances under which this letter was written, we cannot but be deeply impressed with the Christian spirit of Lady Jane Grey. In fact, she may be considered as falling a sacrifice to her own religious principles, as well as to the ambitious views of her relatives. On Monday, February the 12th, her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, a youth of nineteen, was beheaded upon Tower Hill; and within an hour afterward she suffered in the same manner, within the Tower.

The hard fate of Lady Jane Grey was universally lamented: the more so, from the general estimation in which she was held for her fervent piety and superior abilities. People spoke their opinions the more strongly, as they could not but see that several of the nobility, who had been the most active in proclaiming her as queen, were now in authority, professing the Romish religion, and secretly promoting, if not urging her death! It was noticed that several persons who advised her execution came to an untimely end; among these

chapel with Lady Ann Wharton, that lady made an obeisance to the consecrated wafer, hanging, as usual, in a box over the altar. Lady Jane, seeing this, wondered, and asked if the princess was coming. Her companion replied "No," and said she made the obeisance "to Him that made us all." "Why," said the Lady Jane, "how can that be he that made us all, for the baker made him?" This being told to the Princess Mary, "she did never love her after!"

was Judge Morgan, who pronounced sentence of death upon her. Shortly afterward he became raving mad, in which state he died, calling incessantly to have the Lady Jane taken away from his sight.

Many particulars are recorded, which show that she was a Christian indeed, not in name only; the following will interest the reader.

A Prayer made by the Lady Jane in the time of her trouble.

"O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, a poor and desolate woman, who takes refuge with thee only in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee; and therefore I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, and disquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without which, so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair.

"Albeit it is expedient that, seeing our life is full of trials, we should be visited with some adversity; whereby we might both be tried whether we are of thy flock or not, and also know thee and ourselves the better; yet thou that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now, miserable wretch. I beseech thee, and with Solomon do cry unto thee, humbly desiring that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, nor be too much pressed down with adversity, lest I, being full, should deny thee, my God; or, being brought too low, should despair, and blaspheme thee, my Lord and Saviour.

"O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee, and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly entreat thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power; but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, who, for the space of four hundred years, did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it, therefore, likewise seem good to thy fatherly goodness to deliver me, sorrowful wretch (for whom thy Son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross), out of this miserable captivity and bondage wherein I now am. How long wilt thou be absent?—forever! O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving-kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy gone forever, and thy promise come utterly to an end, forevermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God!

Far be that from me. I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus : give me grace, therefore, to await thy leisure, and patiently to bear what thou doest unto me, assuredly knowing, that, as thou canst, so thou wilt deliver me when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me ; for thou knowest what is good for me better than I do. Therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and visit me with affliction in what way thou wilt ; only, in the mean time, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast ; my loins being girt about with truth, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace ; above all things, taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word ; praying always, with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles which it shall please thee to send me ; seeing such troubles are profitable for me ; and seeing, I am assuredly persuaded, that all thou doest cannot but be well. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his sake whom thou wouldst should be a sacrifice for my sins ; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen."

A Letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of a New Testament in Greek, which she sent unto her sister, the Lady Catharine, the night before she suffered.

"I have here sent you (good sister Catharine) a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet, inwardly, it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book (dear sister) of the law of the Lord ; it is his Testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretched creatures, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy ; and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life : it shall teach you to live, and learn you to die ; it shall obtain for you more than you should have gained by possession of your father's lands ; for as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands, so, if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, nor the thief shall steal, nor yet the moths corrupt.

"Desire, with David (good sister), to understand the law of the Lord God. And trust not that the tenderness of your age is an assurance that you will live many years ; for (if God call) the young goeth as soon as the old ; also endeavour to learn how to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise

the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, with whom, even in death, there is life. Be like the good servant, and, even at midnight, be waking, lest, when death cometh, and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you be, like the evil servant, found sleeping; and lest, for want of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage.

"Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your master, Christ, and take up your cross; lay your sins on him, and always embrace him. And, as concerning my death, rejoice as I do (good sister), that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall, when I lose a mortal life, win an immortal life; the which I pray God to grant you, and send you, of his grace, to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith; from the which (in God's name) I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for the hope of life nor the fear of death; for if you will deny his faith, thinking thereby to lengthen your life, God will deny you and shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory; to the which glory may God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who alone can help you."

The jealous and bigoted temper of Queen Mary made her apprehensive that the Princess (afterward queen) Elizabeth was inclined to promote the designs against her authority, or, at least, that she might be made use of by her enemies. In consequence of this suspicion, three of the most active Romanists in the queen's council were sent, with a number of armed men, to Ashridge, where the princess at that time was staying. They arrived late at night; and although she was unwell, so that she could not travel without much pain and inconvenience, they ordered her to prepare to set-out for London the next morning, and commenced their journey accordingly.

On her arrival, she was conducted to the court, and kept there as a prisoner for a fortnight; during which period Wyat was persuaded to accuse her and the Earl of Devonshire as being privy to his insurrection; this false accusation the princess and the earl both positively denied, and Wyat himself afterward retracted it, declaring her innocence before the council, and at the place of his execution.

Gardiner earnestly desired her destruction. He apprehended that, if Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, he should have to suffer the treatment he deserved. Various means

to implicate her in a charge of treason were used ; and, after an examination before Gardiner and nineteen of the council, on Palm Sunday, she was sent to the Tower as a prisoner, and landed at the traitor's stairs : a proceeding which, in those days, was the usual forerunner of death ; and as such she appears to have considered it. Her spirit, however, did not fail under these trials, and she certainly expressed herself as looking for higher support than any earthly aid ; but we do not presume to judge whether her trust really was placed on that Rock upon which so many were now enabled to rest secure. Although attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, she submitted outwardly to conform to the Romish ceremonies, and attended mass ; yet she was too well informed to admit the gross absurdities of transubstantiation.* Gardiner's designs were not to be restrained by this concession on her part. He went so far as to send a warrant for her execution to the lieutenant of the Tower, signed by some of the lords of the council. The lieutenant, very properly, hesitated at proceeding upon such a document against the next heir to the throne, who, as yet, was neither tried nor condemned. He immediately went to the queen : she approved of the lieutenant's conduct, and disavowed any knowledge of the warrant ; but, as she showed no signs of displeasure against Gardiner, it is impossible to think that Mary really disapproved of his proceedings as she ought to have done, although she appears to have hesitated as to personally directing her only sister to be put to death.

Fox, and most of the historians of this reign, give a full account of the harsh treatment experienced by the Princess Elizabeth, especially while confined in the Tower. For some time after her committal she was kept a close prisoner, and her own servants were prevented from bringing provisions to her table. At last she was allowed to walk in a small garden, and some young children were permitted to bring flowers to her. One of these, a boy of four years old, was examined, with a view to find matter of accusation ; but, although promised figs and apples (rewards suited to his age), he nobly refused to tell an untruth, and was not allowed to go to the princess afterward. Another child, a little girl, seeing the strict manner in which the princess was kept, and, doubtless, hearing her friends pity the illustrious prisoner, one day brought a small bunch of keys, which she had found, telling her that she "had brought the keys that she might unlock the gates and go abroad !"

* Being asked her opinion respecting the real presence, she avoided the usual consequences of a direct reply to this ensnaring question by saying,

"Christ was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it ;
And what that word did make it,
Such I receive and take it."

In the month of May, Elizabeth was carried to Woodstock, under the guard of a brutal officer, who was restrained in some measure by a nobleman joined with him in the care of the princess. For several months she lived in much anxiety, daily expecting to suffer on the scaffold, or by assassination. We cannot wonder that, on hearing a milkmaid singing cheerfully, she wished she could change situations, saying the milkmaid's lot was far better than that of a princess! How touching a picture is this of the anxieties and sufferings peculiar to those who are in exalted stations! they are truly "slippery places."

While she was confined at Woodstock, a proclamation was issued, appointing a general fast for three days. One of the two yeomen that waited upon the princess, being unwell, went to the priest, and said that in former times *he might have hired somebody to fast for him,** and inquired whether such a plan would then be allowed. The priest told him that it would be permitted; upon which the yeoman went to the poor people waiting for alms at the gate, and asked who would fast for him! Several offered; one woman begged very hard to be employed on this occasion, and offered to fast the three days for three pence! "Nay," said the yeoman, "thou shalt have a groat." The other yeoman hired a substitute also. The servants of the princess were also ordered to confess to a priest, who was instructed to write down their confessions. He told them that they must believe there was flesh, blood, and *bone* in the sacrament. One, who refused to believe that there were *bones* in the consecrated wafer, was committed to the Marshalsea.

The severe punishment of Wyat's followers, many of whom were executed in the country, as well as in London, repressed the outward tokens of disapproval at the Spanish marriage; the feelings of the nation, however, were strongly shown. Among other circumstances, a girl was taught to personate a spirit in a wall, and to utter speeches against the queen's proceedings. This imposture was detected, and punished as it deserved. It was a mere political trick, and would not be noticed here, but that some historians, with a view of excusing the similar measures so frequently adopted by Ro-

* Long fastings were, and still are, frequently enjoined by the Church of Rome. These were of various degrees, and, in some cases, were to continue for several years. The privation, however, was not so formidable to all as at first sight might appear. Rich persons, in this, as well as in other respects, are favoured. A year's fasting "from all pleasant food," with total abstinence at intervals, might be commuted for payment of a sum equal to from ten to thirty pounds of our present money. There was another, and still more ingenious method, which is mentioned by Dr. Henry, on the authority of Spelman: "A rich man, who had many friends and dependants, might despatch a *seven years' fast in three days*, by procuring *eight hundred and forty men* to fast for him *three days* on bread and water and vegetables!" Licenses are regularly sold, even now, in Romish countries, allowing the purchaser to eat forbidden food on fast-days.

manists for promoting their religion, have accused the Protestant clergy of being concerned in the imposture. For this there does not appear to be the smallest ground; it is enough to say that at the time it was not laid to their charge; and, evidently, they were not then spared as to any imputations which could be brought against them. Such are the methods too commonly resorted to by advocates of the Romish Church in later days. They not only revive and repeat often refuted calumnies, but industriously search for new charges.

On the 4th of March, the queen issued instructions, addressed to all the bishops, in which, after stating that many disorders had occurred during King Edward's days, she commanded that the bishop's should see to the execution of the canons and ecclesiastical laws which had been in force during her father's reign. She also directed the oath of obedience to the royal supremacy to be discontinued; and ordered that they should repress *heresies* and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, "duly correcting and punishing the same." They were also to condemn unlawful books; to remove all married clergy from their benefices; to separate them from their wives, and inflict "due punishment" for the offence; and to restore holydays and ceremonies, as used in King Henry's time. They were to reordain any clergy who had received orders in King Edward's days, if they were considered as proper to be continued in their cures.* Also, carefully to examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children; and if they appeared of suspicious sentiments, they were to be removed, and "Catholic men" to be put in their places, with a special commandment to instruct the children, so that they might be able to answer the priest at mass. The Church of Rome has ever shown her policy with regard to education. In countries where there is little or no opposition to her doctrines, children are allowed almost universally to remain in the grossest ignorance; but where the light of Divine truth has in any degree penetrated, and the clouds of ignorance appear to be dispersing, she immediately endeavours to preoccupy the ground, and to fill their minds with prejudice and erroneous instruction, hoping that they may thereby be kept from the knowledge of the Gospel.† Then

* This is worthy of notice. The Church of Rome never has recognised any persons as ministers of the word unless ordained by her authority. Accordingly, we find the author of "*The End of Controversy*," letter 29, denying the validity of the ordination or mission of Protestants, both in the Church of England and among Dissenters. It is unnecessary to detail his arguments, which he thus sums up: "Hence it clearly appears that there is and can be no apostolical succession of ministry in the Established Church more than in the other congregations or societies of Protestants. All their preaching and ministering is performed by mere human authority." But we have not room to pursue this subject. It strongly shows the exclusive spirit of the Church of Rome.

† The proceedings of the Romish clergy in Ireland with respect to the education of the poor in former times, and at present (1826), will be remembered by the reader.

her exertions for the education of youth are very strenuous, and present an example which may cause Protestants to feel ashamed of their comparative negligence in this important work.

To give the greater weight to these injunctions, the queen ordered four bishops to be "turned out of their bishoprics," because they were married; and three others, because it was stated in their patents that they were to hold their sees only so long as they behaved well. Her mandate stated, that she was informed they preached erroneous "doctrine," and "carried themselves contrary to the laws of God and the practice of the universal church." Thus seven bishops were at once displaced on account of their attachment to the Reformation, and this solely upon *the queen's authority*; so that she, in reality, exercised a supremacy over the Church far greater than either her father or brother had ever exerted, although she had renounced the supremacy by virtue of which she expelled these bishops. She called that power sinful and schismatical, yet, by Gardiner's persuasion, was prevailed upon to exercise it when it promoted her views. This is another proof of the inconsistency of Queen Mary! Cranmer, Ridley, and some other prelates were removed under other pretexts; two died, and, in the whole, sixteen new Romish prelates were added to the bench of bishops this year; thus effectually changing the government of the Church.

The new prelates lost no time in executing the queen's injunctions. Mass was now restored in every parish, and all the old superstitious processions and ceremonies were again observed. The publication of these injunctions in London was accompanied by a monition from Bishop Bonner, ordering every person in his diocese above twelve years of age to confess to a priest, and receive the sacrament according to the Romish form at the ensuing Easter. A precept from the lord-mayor directed each alderman to hold a wardmote, and to summon all the housekeepers, rich and poor, warning them that they, and their wives, children, and servants, were in future strictly to keep the precepts of the religion then established, and to inform against every one whom they might "perceive or understand," in any respect, to transgress.

The Protestant clergy were now completely set aside; the principal preachers among them had been silenced on the queen's accession; and by the proceedings against the married clergy, those who remained were now expelled from their livings. Many had left the realm, and a large number were imprisoned. An ecclesiastical historian calculates that there were at that time sixteen thousand clergymen in England, and that no less than twelve thousand were cast out from their cures and thrown penniless upon the world with

their wives and children, not being allowed even a trifling pension, such as was given to the monks dismissed in King Henry's reign. In addition to being thus deprived of their maintenance, they were required to separate from their wives. Other writers state the number to have been less; but if we reduce it one half, we may conclude that the distress and misery caused by such a procedure were infinitely greater than any which could result from the suppression of the monasteries. It is, however, the fashion for historians to say a great deal respecting the monks and nuns, but little or nothing respecting the married clergy deprived of their benefices in Queen Mary's reign.

To justify these measures, several books were written against the marriage of the clergy,* the lawfulness of which so clearly appears from various passages in the New Testament, that it is unnecessary to enter into any argument on the subject. Some of the individuals thus calumniated wrote in their own defence, and showed that the pretended chastity of the Romish priesthood was only a cover for the greatest irregularities, and for debaucheries of every description. The parentage of many of the leading Romish clergy sufficiently showed the truth of these assertions. Bonner was generally accounted to be the illegitimate son of a priest in Leicestershire named Savage, and was himself notoriously the father of a similar race. And thus, to use the words of Strype, was the Church now plentifully furnished with ignorant priests, of scandalous lives, although unmarried and professing chastity. Being placed in their parishes, their chief employment was to mumble over the services in a language of which both themselves and their congregation were generally ignorant, and to quarrel with their parishioners for candles, purification-pence, eggs on Good Friday, the quarterly offerings, and dirge-groats, the usual fees for singing a mass to deliver a soul from purgatory. The higher orders of ecclesiastics assumed great state and magnificence of apparel; but the lower clergy were exceedingly contemptible;† for the number of vacant cures was so great as to require the services of all the Romish ecclesiastics, whatever might be their character. They cared not for studying the Scriptures or preaching the Gospel, but for the most part attached themselves to their patrons, looking after their hawks and dogs, taking care of their gardens, or keeping their accounts. But they were generally notorious for their zeal and diligence for informing against the gossellers, and bringing

* One was written by Dr. Martin, a Romish ecclesiastic, notorious for the licentiousness of his conduct.

† In Ipswich, in September, this year, there were only two priests to serve the eleven churches in that town. The rest of the clergy were in prison, or had been forced to flee. A strong proof of the progress made by the doctrines of the Gospel in the county of Suffolk.

them into trouble. A contemporary writer thus sums up his account of these blind guides: "If there be any money to be gotten for masses, dirges, relics, pardons, &c., who so ready as they? they can smell it out a great many miles off. But if a man want comfort in his conscience, or would understand his duty towards God, or God's goodness towards us, they be blind, ignorant, and unlearned, and can say nothing, but make holy water, and bid them repeat a lady psalter."*

Awful indeed must have been the state of our land when such was the general character of those who ministered in the sanctuary; and let it be remembered that no others were *tolerated*. Popery holds forth the *unity* of the *outward* church too strongly to allow any to teach the people who differ or dissent, *in any respect*, from her doctrines. Accordingly, a proclamation was issued about the same time, ordering all foreigners, not denizens or regular merchants, and especially "all preachers, booksellers, and printers," to quit the realm within twenty-four days.

But the priesthood just described was extolled by the leading Romanists of the day. In the convocation which met about this time, Bonner exalted the priests far above men or angels: his words were taken down by some persons present, and are given by Fox. A few sentences will suffice in this place. He said, "Wherefore, it is to be known that priests and elders be worthy of all men to be *worshipped*† for the dig-

* This is a common form of Romish devotion, used among the lower classes even in the present day. It consists of repeating the "Hail Mary," &c., one hundred and fifty times, and saying the Lord's Prayer after every tenth. Both are usually repeated in Latin, and are said to have as much virtue and efficacy, when repeated by an unlearned person, as saying over the entire psalter by one of superior abilities. Those who are not quite so ignorant are taught to repeat the "Office of the Blessed Virgin," which includes a number of prayers addressed to her, and applies many passages from the Scriptures, such as "Health of the Weak," "Gate of Heaven," "Refuge of Sinners," "Comfort of the Afflicted," &c., to her, instead of Him to whom alone they should be addressed.

† The reader must not suppose this to be a mere commonplace expression. The Douay Catechism thus speaks of priests: "Is any great honour due to priests and ghostly (or spiritual) fathers? A. Yes: for they are God's anointed, represent the person of Christ, and are the fathers and feeders of our soul. Q. In what are we bound to believe and obey them? A. In all things belonging to faith and the government of our souls." This is Romanism at the present day in its most favourable form. They are also spoken of as *mediators* between God and his people! The authority claimed and exercised by the Romish priests over the laity is noticed by every one who visits a country where that religion alone is tolerated. There are many painful facts on record which show the manner in which this authority has often been abused; and the impunity with which guilty and wicked priests are suffered to escape has been notorious in all ages and countries.

It should also be remembered, that the Church of Rome reckons three degrees of worship, viz., *Latria*, which is to be rendered to God alone; *Dulia*, which they say is an inferior sort of worship, due to saints and angels; *Hyperdulia*, which is a higher degree of inferior worship due to the Virgin, and to which Bonner referred. But, as "The Protestant" observes, these distinctions are of no use to the great bulk of the people; and the Greek words, *Datreia* and *Dulia*, are indifferently used to express Divine worship. The Church of Rome also represents the efficacy of the sacrament as depending upon the due ordination of the priests; and in every way exalts them as a class of beings far above common persons, having power to turn a wafer into the body of Christ by saying the five Latin words, "*Hoc est enim corpus meum*."

nity sake which they have of God." He then said that a priest was like the Virgin Mary, who is considered by Romanists as superior to any other created being. This he attempted to prove by referring to the consecration of the wafer at the sacrament, when, as the Church of Rome asserts, "the priest, by five words, doth make the very body of Christ." Because, as the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, so the priest "lifts up the body of Christ, carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands." "Therefore, here is to be known, that the dignity of priests passeth the dignity of angels; because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do on earth what the highest angel in heaven cannot." "Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles; for a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator," &c., &c.

When we read these proud words of blasphemy, we can hardly believe that three hundred years have not passed since they were uttered in St. Paul's Cathedral by the first ecclesiastical authority of the metropolis, and that all who dared to dispute such tenets were exposed to suffer even unto death! Let it be observed, that Bonner's assertions are grounded on the doctrine that bread is made into the body of Christ by the words of the priest; and is not that doctrine maintained in the most decided terms by the Church of Rome at the present day?

A new Parliament met on the 2d of April. Historians tell us that the Spanish gold already mentioned was freely distributed or promised by Gardiner, to induce the members to consent to the marriage of the queen with the Prince of Spain, and the restoration of the authority of the pope in England.* This money was not spent in vain; several bills were passed by the House of Commons for severe proceedings against the Reformers, but were laid aside for a time.

The late proceedings in the dispute held in the convocation with Philpot and others, on the doctrine of transubstantiation, were generally complained of, and compared with the public disputation in King Edward's reign. It was now resolved to attempt the removal of this well-grounded complaint. Weston and other leading Romanists were sent to

* Although the greater part of the people had been so indifferent respecting the setting aside the Reformation, they did not see the restoration of the popish ceremonies with equal carelessness. In London, at St. Pancras's parish, on Easter day, when the priest went to the sepulchre, erected in the church, and put in his hand to take out the pix and the crucifix, saying, as usual, "He is risen," he found his words were literally correct, the apparatus of popery having been taken away during the night.

A few days afterward, a cat was hanged on the gallows in Cheapside, dressed like a priest, with a paper cut in the shape of the Host between her paws. A large reward was offered for the detection of the person who had done this, but without success.

Oxford; they were publicly to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, on the three following points:

1. That the natural body of Christ was really in the sacrament.

2. That no other substance remained after the words of consecration, besides the body and blood of Christ.

3. That in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the dead and living.

It may be here noticed, that these three propositions are *expressly asserted* in the clauses added to the Apostle's Creed by Pope Pius IV., and therefore are unequivocally received and held by every true member of the Church of Rome at the present day.

To give a full account of this mock disputation is unnecessary. It commenced by various processions, the singing of mass, and other ceremonies. Cranmer and his companions were brought separately before the commissioners at St. Mary's Church; the propositions were shown to them, and they were asked whether they would admit them or not. These venerable prelates of course refused to assent, and stated their readiness to argue against such doctrines. Ridley asked for time to prepare, and to be permitted the use of his books. They refused to grant him longer than the Thursday following (this was on the Saturday); and though they promised to allow him what books he might require, he was only permitted to have the use of his own.

Latimer was brought forward the last. The appearance of this venerable Reformer, now in his eighty-fourth year, worn down by age and imprisonment, evidently showed what sort of a disputation the Romanists intended to have. The interesting description given by the original narrator would suffer if changed into modern language. "Last of all came in M. Latimer, with a kerchief and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair. After his denial of the articles, Wednesday was appointed for him to dispute, but he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and want of books; saying he was almost as unfit to dispute as to be captain or governor of Calais, but he would declare his mind either in writing or in words, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back." He complained that he was not permitted to have pen and ink, nor any book except the New Testament in his hand. This, he said, he had read over seven times deliberately, but he could not find the mass in it, nor its marrow-bones or sinews, alluding to the four principal points set forth therein. At this the commissioners were highly offended; and Dr. Weston said he would make him grant it had both marrow-bones and sinews, in the New Testament. To whom M. Latimer replied, "That you will never do;" and when he

was desirous to explain what he meant by those terms, they silenced him, and would not allow him to proceed.

On Monday the disputation began at eight o'clock, and continued till two. All the principal persons in the University were assembled. Nineteen commissioners were placed in order, and Cranmer was brought in. Before this assembly he stood and argued for six hours. Four of the Romish doctors were particularly appointed to dispute with him; but the rest of the commissioners had something to say, and interrupted him continually, in a most disorderly manner. Four notaries were present (one of whom was Jewel), who took down all that passed; and from their memorandums Fox gave the full account which is found in his "Acts and Monuments."

The next day Ridley was brought forward. Dr. Smith was to be his principal opponent, but Weston and twelve others assisted their advocate. Ridley had long been a complete master of this controversy, and had well employed the short interval allowed him to prepare. He produced a writing, in which the principal arguments of the Reformers on this point were set forth in a masterly and forcible manner. He argued against the corporeal presence, as being contrary to the Scriptures, which expressly speak of Christ's having left the world, and state his sitting at the right hand of God; and that it is contrary to the nature of the sacrament, which is a remembrance. That it is contrary to nature to swallow a living man. That it gave advantage to those heretics who denied that Christ had a human body, and is contrary to the doctrines of the fathers. The notaries took down the particulars fairly; and although, at that time, only a garbled account was sent forth by the Romanists, more correct details were afterward published, so that we can refer to the strong reasonings of Bishop Ridley, and the miserable sophistry of his numerous opponents.

The dispute continued for many hours, and was conducted in the same manner as the day before. Weston at length terminated it by saying, "You see the stubbornness, the boasting, the crafty, and inconstant mind of this man. You see this day, that the force of the truth cannot be shaken. Therefore cry out with me, 'Truth prevails!'" The doctors all arose, shouting aloud, "Truth prevails!" Ridley was silenced and sent back to prison, and they went to dinner. He has left a particular account of the disorderly and shameful manner in which he was interrupted, by hissing, shouting, and calling of names, so that he could not state his arguments fully or clearly, as he desired.

The third day was appointed for Latimer to dispute. He had always been considered an eloquent and faithful preacher of the Gospel, rather than a learned and scholastic divine;

while his advanced age and infirmities rendered him wholly unfit to contend for a length of time with such numerous and disorderly opponents. He requested to be allowed to speak in the English tongue, not having used the Latin language for many years. He stated that he was unable to dispute, but would declare his faith, and they might do as they pleased with him afterward. This venerable martyr then produced a paper containing his opinions, but was not allowed to read it himself, and Weston would only read a part. His age and appearance did not obtain respect from his enemies. "I have taken," said he, "the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, on account of my weakness. O, sir, you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings repeatedly, for two or three hours together, without interruption. But now I am not suffered to declare my mind for a quarter of an hour without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like in such an audience all my life long. Surely, I must have been guilty of some heinous offence. And what was it? Why, I spoke of the four marrow-bones of the mass, which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. I was not allowed to show what I meant by my metaphor, but with your leave I will now explain it.

"The first is the popish consecration, which has been called the making of God's body. The second is transubstantiation. The third is the oblation (or sacrifice) of the mass. The fourth is adoration." He then explained that these were the four points chiefly dwelt upon by the Romanists in *their* sacrament of the altar, and that they were without authority from Scripture.

His adversaries would not be satisfied without at least the *form* of a dispute; they therefore pressed him with many questions and authorities from the fathers. Latimer answered their inquiries as far as propriety demanded, but would not notice their long, scholastic arguments; he repeated the principles which he believed, and in which faith he said he desired to die. Upon the whole, he managed even better than Cranmer and Ridley, for they answered the Romish arguments from the fathers, by reasonings from similar authorities; but Latimer told them he depended only upon Scripture. "Then you are not of St. Chrysostom's faith, nor St. Augustine's," said Dr. Smith. Latimer replied, "I have told you I am of their faith when they say well, and bring Scripture for what they declare; and farther than this St. Augustine desired not to be believed."

Finding they could make no impression on this venerable father, Weston ended the debate at eleven o'clock, with a brag, as usual, saying, "Here you all see the weakness of

heresy against the truth; he denieth all truth, and the old fathers!" In the course of the dispute, Weston asserted that there was no authority in the Scripture for a woman's receiving the sacrament; and when Latimer referred to the word in the original (1 Cor., xi., 28), which signifies both men and women, he and his associates asserted that the word was different from that which is actually found in that passage of Scripture.

The Romish doctors having in this way gained what they wished to be thought a triumph over the Reformers, on the following day a mock disputation on the same subject was held between Weston and Harpsfield, preparatory to the latter receiving the degree of doctor. On this occasion, Weston pretended to dispute *against* transubstantiation, and to be overcome by his opponent!* Cranmer was brought forward again, and allowed to argue at some length in support of his opinions.

On the 26th of April, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's Church. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were again brought before them, and told by Weston that they had been vanquished in argument! He then required them to say whether they would subscribe to the propositions. Cranmer denied that they had been overcome, and referred to the shameful manner in which the debate had been conducted. They all refused to subscribe, and sentence was pronounced against them, that they were no longer members of the church; and they, with their followers and patrons, were pronounced to be "obstinate heretics."

Cranmer then said, "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose presence on the altar I am thus condemned."

Ridley observed, "Although I am not of your company, yet I doubt not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should come by the course of nature."

Latimer added, "I thank God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life unto this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

Awful to say, Weston then recorded his own condemnation by exclaiming, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am persuaded I shall never come thither!"

After the sentence was pronounced, a solemn procession took place to commemorate this victory. Weston carried

* This reminds us of a public exhibition occasionally to be witnessed in Romish schools. Some of the scholars represent Protestants, and, after a disputation, are converted by the superior arguments of those of their schoolfellows who appear as opponents. It is stated that such public exhibitions may be witnessed on *Sunday evenings*, in a northern county, at the present time (1836).

the host under a canopy, and the crowd were obliged to bow before their *breaden God*, as is still required in Romish countries. The three prisoners were sent for to behold the triumph, and then carried back to their respective prisons, where they suffered much, and were supported by the contributions of the followers of the Gospel, and at the expense of the bailiffs of the city. Cranmer wrote a memorial to the council, stating the unfair manner in which the dispute had been conducted, and the refusal to allow him to advance the arguments he had ready. Weston undertook to be the bearer of this letter; but while on the road *he opened it*, and, not liking the contents, sent it back to Cranmer.

The Romanists boasted much of the result of this disputation, and resolved to have a similar exhibition at Cambridge. For this purpose they intended to send down some others of the faithful ministers of the truth then in prison, who were quickly informed of the design. Such of them as were not yet closely confined found means to communicate their opinions to each other, and published a declaration of their sentiments. In this they stated, that being prisoners, not as rebels or transgressors of the laws, but only for their conscience towards God and his most holy word and truth, they were informed that it was determined they should be sent to dispute before the universities, and that they had resolved as follows: to dispute publicly if required, provided it were before the queen and her council, or the houses of Parliament, but not before the doctors of the universities alone, since they had *already* stated their determinations upon the points to be disputed; and those who were to decide did not desire to find out the truth, but only sought their destruction. They also objected, because they had not been allowed the use of books for many months; and these were not permitted in the disputation at Oxford, so that they should be unable to detect the false quotations of their adversaries. Also, because, as at Oxford, they would be interrupted in their arguments; and the notaries who took down the proceedings would all be appointed by their enemies, and no copies allowed to go forth except such as passed through their hands. For these reasons, they would only dispute in writing with the Romish clergy, if *alone*. This they desired to do, and added, "If they will write, we will answer; and by writing confirm, out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's Church, this our faith, which we now write and send abroad purposely that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it; and to seal the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter, or fire, or otherwise, as God shall appoint; humbly requiring, and by our Lord Jesus Christ beseeching all that fear God to behave

themselves as obedient subjects to the queen, and the superior powers which are ordained of God under her; and rather, after our example, to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed, we mean our sovereign lady Queen Mary, into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit now and forever.*

A confession or statement of faith was then added. In this the prisoners declared, 1. They believed the Bible to be the true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and therefore to be taken to decide in all controversies and matters of religion. 2. That the catholic church embraced and followed the doctrines of the Scriptures in all matters of religion. 3. They believed the doctrines and articles of faith set forth in the Apostles' Creed, and the Nicene and other similar professions of faith. 4. They believed concerning justification, "that, as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only; which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, whereby the mind is illuminated, and the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly, and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned in the article of justification from the righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And this we do not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience' sake, that it might be quiet, which it never can be, if we confound, without distinction, forgiveness of sins and Christ's righteousness imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction towards God."

This article is here given at length, as it shows that the main difference between the Romanists and the Protestants was on the all-important question, "How shall man be just with God?"

The remaining articles stated their firm belief that public worship should be in a language which the people could understand. That God only by Christ Jesus was to be prayed unto; therefore they disallowed prayers to saints. They also denied purgatory, masses for the dead, the Romish sacra-

* This latter clause is given at length, to show the falsity of the Romish accusation of rebellion against these men. It is necessary to call the reader's attention to this, as their principal authors at the *present day* do not scruple to represent the writers of this declaration as "breaking their allegiance to her!" Let the sentiments here expressed be compared with the language *lately* (1896) used by the leading Romish advocates!

† Not the *Roman* Catholic.

ments, the adoration of the host, the prohibiting the marriage of priests, and the considering the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice.

These doctrines they offered to maintain before the queen or the Parliament, believing that by them they should be heard with some fairness; or they offered to argue in their defence by writing; and they concluded by stating their determination to act as obedient subjects, and again entreated all others to do the same. This declaration was dated May 8, 1554, and was signed by Bishops Farrar, Hooper, and Coverdale; also by Dr. Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Crome, Rogers, Saunders, and others.

The month of May was remarkable for many Romish processions; and on the 10th royal dirges, or services for the souls of deceased monarchs, were performed at Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. On this occasion the nobility gave money to pay for masses to be said for the souls of King Henry VII. and his queen, King Henry VIII. and Queen Catharine of Arragon, and also for King Edward VI.! Reader, observe this. The Romanists *then* held out that Henry the Eighth was in purgatory, and could be prayed into heaven; for doing this they received money! Surely, upon their own showing, it would be fair to conclude either that Henry the Eighth is in heaven, or that the Romish priests receive money for what, in reality, is a mere pretence! Let the Romanist of the present day say which of these he will admit.*

On the 23d of May a woman was put in the pillory in Cheapside. A few days afterward two more women and three men suffered the same punishment. They, probably, were punished to check the public expressions of discontent at the queen's marriage with the King of Spain, which excited much alarm, owing to the bigoted character of that monarch, and the cruelties he exercised upon his Protestant subjects. It was naturally apprehended that similar proceedings would be adopted in England, and that the Inquisition would be established.

THE INQUISITION.—At this name every Protestant shudders. The atrocities perpetrated by that horrid tribunal have been so repeatedly stated, that they have not fallen into oblivion, like many of the leading errors and practices of Romanism. To relate minute particulars of the rise and progress of the Inquisition, therefore, is not necessary in this place.

* As one of these processions passed through Smithfield, *John Street*, a joiner, was passing by, and, in his haste, went under the canopy carried over the priest, who, being frightened at the man's presumption, let the pix or box fall in which was the consecrated wafer. For this, Street was taken to the Compter, and carried before the council, before whom the priest accused him of knocking the sacrament out of his hand, and designing to kill him. Street was then sent to Newgate, chained to a post in a dungeon, and treated so cruelly that he lost his senses, and was removed to Bedlam. The Romanists gave out, not only that he intended to kill the priest, but also that he only pretended to be mad. Fox, therefore, *personally* investigated the particulars, and found them to be as above mentioned.

It was established at the latter end of the twelfth century, taking its rise from the persecutions of the Church of Rome against the Albigenses,* which were speedily brought into a regular system, and placed under the authority of Dominic de Guzman, commonly called St. Dominic, the founder of a monastic order. But the direction of the Inquisition was not confined to the Dominicans. All the monastic orders, as well as the clergy, both secular and regular, have taken a full share in conducting its proceedings. The chief honour certainly belongs to Dominic, who was created a saint for the pre-eminent ability he displayed in organizing this cruel institution; to use the expression of one of his biographers, "he was *all eyes* for the faith!" It gradually extended its influence over most of the countries where Romanism prevailed, but reigned with the most cruel sway in Spain. It is calculated that more than a million of victims have been sacrificed by this bloody tribunal!

The system upon which it proceeded is well known. Parents and children of every rank were taken from their homes in the dead of the night. No one dared to resist; and Gavin, who was himself connected with the Inquisition at Saragossa, relates, that if a friend or relative called the next day and found the family in grief, and was informed that the father or mother, or a son or daughter, was missing, he dared ask no farther, nor make any remark, lest he should be overheard by some of the numerous spies of the Inquisition, and be himself carried away the next night! During the period under our consideration, the Inquisition in Spain was proceeding with the utmost severity against all who were suspected of heresy; and English Protestants might well tremble at the idea of the introduction of that horrid tribunal into our land.

Strange to tell, this dread machinery of Rome has found advocates in England even in our own day! Llorente states, that within the last ten years "he has heard Roman Catholics in London declare that the Spanish Inquisition had been useful in preserving the (Roman) Catholic faith, and that it would be advantageous to France to possess a similar institution!"† Would these Romanists wish to see England also partake its *blessings*? There are individuals *now* in our country who witnessed the public burning of the victims of the Inquisition in Spain, before it was finally restricted to *secret* punishments, as well as secret arrests and secret judgments. We shall have occasion to notice this subject again.

* In Jones's "History of the Waldenses" the reader will find an interesting account of these persecutions. Particulars respecting the Inquisition are given at length by Limborch, Dellon, Gavin, Puigblanch, Llorente, and other writers who were, originally, Romanists. See, also, "The Protestant."

† See his "Histoire de l'Inquisition."

CHAPTER IV.

The Queen's Marriage.—The Kingdom submits to the Pope's Authority.—Romanism fully restored.—A.D. 1554-5.



The Parliament of England, in the reign of Queen Mary, kneeling humbly before the pope's legate, and entreating for pardon and absolution! See p. 70.

On the 29th of July, 1554, Philip landed at Southampton, and was married to Queen Mary, at Winchester, a few days afterward. In the general histories of that period will be found ample details respecting many disgraceful and unhappy consequences which resulted to England from this marriage.

The gallows erected in the principal streets in London were taken down previous to the arrival of the king and queen, and many pageants were set up. The conduit in Gracechurch-street was adorned with a large picture representing the nine worthies, including Henry the Eighth among the number. The artist, desirous to represent what he thought the most illustrious part of that monarch's conduct, painted him delivering a book to his son, King Edward the Sixth, upon which was written, *Verbum Dei* (the Word of God). Bishop Gardiner, being informed of this, sent for the artist, and called him knave, traitor, and villain, for painting

a book in King Henry's hand, but especially for writing "the Word of God" thereon, and ordered him to wipe it out of the picture. The painter did as he was commanded, and, being fearful lest any portion of this obnoxious book should remain, he wiped away the king's fingers also!

The nation was so discontented with this Spanish marriage, that Philip found it necessary to adopt some measures which might be pleasing to the people. With this view he interfered for the Princess Elizabeth, the Earl of Devonshire, and some other state prisoners. He continued his kindness towards Elizabeth, and protected her from her enemies; for, as Mary was not likely to have children, Philip hoped, in case of her decease, to persuade Elizabeth to marry him, and thus to continue his authority over England, which otherwise would cease at the death of Mary. These were the only instances of kindness shown by the Spanish monarch towards any of the English nation; and we may observe that none of the Protestant clergy were released.

During the summer the Romish bishops visited their dioceses, to see that the queen's injunctions were attended to. A particular account has been preserved of Bonner's proceedings on this occasion; but the ceremonies observed at the setting up of the rood in St. Paul's Cathedral, in the early part of the year, should first be noticed. The rood, that is, a large wooden image of the crucifixion, with Mary and the Apostle John represented standing one on each side, was laid along upon the pavement. The bishop and his clergy, in their full robes, then recited and sung several prayers over the rood, and anointed it with consecrated oil; they then *crept* to it, and kissed* the images with much devotion. These ceremonies being concluded, the rood was raised up, and fixed in its place, while the choir sung *Te Deum*, and the bells rang for joy!

Bonner's visitation began on the 6th of September. After passing through a part of his diocese, he came to Hadham, of which parish he was rector; but, to his great displeasure, neither found a rood erected nor a sacramental wafer hung up in the church; nor was he welcomed with ringing the bells, as usual. Full of wrath, he abused Dr. Bricket, his curate, in the church, swearing at him, and cursing him for a knave and a heretic. The doctor endeavoured to excuse himself by stating that the bishop had come sooner than they expected, and promised they would attend to his wishes as speedily as possible; meanwhile, he entreated the bishop to come to the parsonage, where dinner was preparing. Bon-

* In the *Rituale Romanum* the prayers and ceremonies now to be used at the consecration of a cross, or an image of the Saviour, of the Virgin Mary, or the saints, are to be found. At the termination of the prayers, "the priest, kneeling before the cross, is devoutly to adore it, and kiss it, and as many of the spectators as please are to do the same."

ner was too angry to listen to his curate, and, after much more abuse, struck at him. The blow missed Dr. Bricket, but hit Sir Thomas Joscelyn, a by-stander, full upon the ear! Then, mounting his horse, this unchristian prelate rode away to Ware, to the great consternation of the people. The general proceedings of Bonner, during this visitation, may be collected from the injunctions he issued; among them are particular inquiries, whether any of the clergy had been married, and whether they had put away their wives; whether they favoured heresy; whether they prayed in the English language; whether they used the sacraments aright, &c., &c.: thus evidently showing that the principal design of these visitations was to root out the favourers of the Reformation.

While this noted persecutor was thus occupied, the followers of Christ employed themselves very differently. While in prison, they eagerly availed themselves of every opportunity for recommending to others the promises of the Gospel, and the warnings against sin contained in the Word of God. Many proofs of this are extant in the letters of the martyrs; the following extracts are from one written by Bradford to a person under the heaviness and godly sorrow which result from a feeling and sense of sin:

"We must not be sluggish; but, as Satan laboureth to loosen our faith, so must we labour to fasten it, by thinking on the promises and covenant of God, in the blood of Christ; namely, that God is our God, with all that he hath; which covenant dependeth upon God's own goodness, mercy, and truth only, and not on our obedience and worthiness in any point, for then should we never be certain. Indeed, God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not that *thereby* we might be his children and he our Father, but because he is our Father and we his children; through his own goodness in Christ, *therefore*, requireth he faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthiness which he requireth, should we doubt whether he is our Father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our Father. But rather because he is our Father, and we feel ourselves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to take shame to ourselves; because we are not as we should be, and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our Father in prayer, in this manner."

Then follows a prayer, of which the following is an extract:

"I come to thee as to my merciful Father, through thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me, good Lord.

Help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c., and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me forever."

The letter thus concludes :

"Let us look upon Christ and his precious blood shed for the confirmation of his covenant; let us remember the free promises of the Gospel; let us set before us God's benefits generally, in making this world, in ruling it, &c., &c. This, if you do, and use earnest prayer, and so flee from all things which might wound your conscience, giving yourself to diligence in your calling, you shall find at length (which God grant to me also) a sure certainty of salvation, to your eternal joy and comfort."

Surely these important declarations of Gospel truth should not be neglected at the present day. Reader, are you in heaviness from a feeling and sense of sin? Flee to the refuge thus set before you by this martyr of old. Are you still careless as to the concerns of your soul? O, neglect not the great salvation so freely offered to you in Christ!

In the beginning of October, more than fifty persons were imprisoned in London for having books in their possession which had been brought from Germany, several of whom were citizens of respectability. On November the 4th, five priests did penance at Paul's Cross for having married agreeably to the laws passed in King Edward's reign. For this they had been suspended from the ministry, but now were admitted again, upon putting away their wives and doing penance.

A jury, before whom Sir Nicholas Throgmorton had been tried on a charge of high treason, although his principal offence was heresy, having acquitted him, they were committed to prison. Four submitted themselves to the council, and were set at liberty; but the eight others, affirming that they had acted to the best of their knowledge, and as their consciences directed, were fined. Five of them were condemned to pay a thousand marks, and the others one thousand pounds each,* but were at length released upon paying a smaller sum.

About this time Bonner issued a mandate, ordering that all texts of Scripture written upon church walls should be blotted out. They had been inscribed thereon during the reign of Edward, and therefore the prelate attributes them to the "children of iniquity, as a stay to their heresies—opening a window to vice, and utterly closing up the way to virtue!" "Wherefore, being moved with a Christian zeal," the church-

* A mark is 13s. 4d. It must be remembered that these sums are equal to ten times the amount at the present day. This measure will remind the reader of similar proceedings against Protestant jurymen, during the reign of James the Second, for acquitting Keeling and others.

wardens were commanded "to abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures." This measure is not surprising; the Romish prelates well knew that their doctrines would not stand the test of Scripture; and some persons observed that, as Bonner was so earnest to introduce images into churches, he was wise to blot out the Scriptures, for they could not agree together.

While Bonner was thus employed, Gardiner was not idle, but laboured in a higher sphere. He sent visitors to Oxford and Cambridge, and many persons were expelled from their fellowships. In the latter university, twenty-four vacancies were declared in St. John's College alone, and several of the heads of houses were removed.

At Oxford, Dr. Tresham, the vice-chancellor, called the students of Christ Church together, and earnestly recommended the mass to them, declaring "that there was stuff enough in Scripture to prove the mass good." The doctor, however, had recourse to other arguments. He told them that the queen had ordered a splendid set of robes to be made for the chapel at Windsor;* but she had kindly granted that these vestments should be sent to Christ Church, and "if they, like honest men," would come to church, they should wear them on holydays. As a farther inducement, he promised that the college should have "the lady bells of Bampton, which were the sweetest ring in England."

This Dr. Tresham appears to have been very fond of bells. It is recorded of him that he caused the great bell of Christ Church to be newly hung, and baptized by the name of Mary. A few days afterward, *Jewel* was reading to him a letter, which he had been directed to prepare as an address from the university to the queen, when "Mary" tolled as a warning to mass. The doctor, hearing "her pleasant voice," exclaimed, "O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful Mary! How musically she sounds! How strangely she pleaseth my ears!" and the poor scholar was forced to give place to this new lady, whose "sweet voice" so engaged the chancellor's attention, that he gave no more heed to Jewel or his letter.†

* The cost of the splendid garments of the Romish priests was very great. The will of Sir Thomas Parr, about this period, contains a bequest of £1600 to the Abbey of Clairvaux, to purchase copes and vestments.

† The reader who is unacquainted with Romish ceremonies may probably be startled to hear of a bell being baptized, and bearing a name so highly respected among Romanists; but it is one of the superstitions adopted by that church, and is practised at the present day. A particular account of the performance of this ceremony in Canada, in 1818, is related in *The Protestant*, published at Glasgow, vol. ii., No. 73. Two bells about to undergo this ceremony being hung in the middle of the church, a procession of the priests, in their robes of state, was made as usual. A priest addressed the people upon the pious feelings which ought to be produced in their minds by seeing bells baptized. Water was then consecrated; another priest dipped a brush into the water, and made the form of a cross upon the bells, pronouncing the solemn words used in baptism. A third priest then crossed the bells all over, and they were afterward wiped dry. Several prayers were read, the bells

A more important subject now claims attention, namely, the reconciliation of England to the See of Rome, and the re-establishment of the pope's authority in our land. It has already been stated that Cardinal Pole was appointed legate from the pope for this purpose; but he was detained by the emperor, lest his presence should interfere with the queen's marriage. That being effected, he was allowed to proceed; but having been attainted for high treason in the reign of Henry the Eighth, he could not return to England till the Parliament repealed the act.

This was the first measure proposed when the Parliament met. Great care was taken to exclude all persons suspected of favouring the Reformation, or of being averse to the restoration of the pope's power, as many members of the preceding parliaments had been. Its proceedings soon showed that it was thoroughly a Romish Parliament, or, as was directed in the queen's circulars to the sheriffs, respecting the election of suitable persons, "of the Catholic sort." The act was introduced on the 17th of November; it was hurried through both houses, and received the royal assent on the 22d. On the 24th the cardinal arrived in London.

Cardinal Pole was descended from the royal family, and for a time was much in favour with Henry the Eighth; but being strongly attached to the doctrines of Romanism and the authority of the pope, he opposed the king's divorce. After some changes of conduct, he left England, and was appointed a cardinal by Pope Paul the Third, in the year 1536, and was immediately sent to reside in Flanders, as a legate, to communicate with and encourage the popish party in England, who were then engaged in rebellion against their king. Of course, Pole was speedily outlawed as a traitor. He resided for some months at Liege, and then returned to Rome, the insurrection being quelled. He continued in correspondence with the English malecontents, and was also employed by the pope as one of his legates at the opening of the Council of

were anointed with oil and perfumed with incense. The names were then given. A godfather and a godmother appeared for each bell! The principal priest asked some questions, which they answered; the bell was then named, the priest and the sponsors each striking it three times with the clapper. A similar form was gone through with the other bell. The sponsors then produced their offering, namely, large pieces of linen, rich silk, and ribands, with which the bells were clothed. The ceremony concluded by another procession. In a few days the bells were hoisted into their places in the steeple, fully qualified for all the numerous duties which bells have to perform in a Roman Catholic country, one of which is to assist in delivering souls from purgatory! Other travellers have described similar exhibitions on the Continent. The particulars of a similar ceremony, performed at Chalons, during the summer of 1825, by the bishop of the diocese, are minutely related. On this occasion, six bells were baptized by the names of Mary, Anne, Deodata, Stephania, Seraphinia, and Prudentia. Their sponsors were chosen from the nobility of the neighbourhood, and the ceremony concluded by the Romish prelate calling upon all "the faithful" to join him in beseeching the Deity to preserve this happy and holy family from evil and danger!!! Picart gives a minute account of this ceremony, illustrated with engravings.

Trent. On the death of Paul the Third, Pole was chosen his successor; but this being announced to him at night, he refused to accept the papacy until the next morning. The morning came, but the cardinals had changed their minds; and Pole, who had, in the mean time, composed an oration to return thanks on being elected, was set aside. He acquiesced in the election of another, and continued his usual course of life till the death of Edward the Sixth, when he was appointed legate to England. The emperor, as already stated, was apprehensive lest Pole, being only in deacon's orders, the queen should fix upon him for a husband, in preference to Philip; and with Gardiner's assistance, prevented his coming to England till the period now under consideration.

The cardinal was received with many honours, but did not make a public entry, as the pope's authority was not yet restored. Letters patent, however, were issued by the king and queen, ordering their subjects to receive, honour, and obey this legate, and allowing them to apply to him for such favours and *dispensations* as they might stand in need of, and which could only be granted by the pope.* On the 27th, Pole came to the Parliament House, the king and queen being present. Gardiner informed the members of the arrival of the cardinal, and the business with which he was charged. Pole then addressed them at considerable length. He acquainted them of the commission from the pope, and that he had come "to restore England to its original noble estate, by reconciling them to the Catholic Church." He ascribed the differences with Rome entirely to the conduct of Henry, and praised the queen in the highest terms.

Some members of the House of Commons spoke of the pope's authority in the way it deserved; but the majority were so attached to popery, or so bribed with Spanish money, that they agreed to unite with the House of Lords in supplicating the legate to receive their submission to the See of Rome. They accordingly besought the king and queen to intercede with the representative of the pope to grant the kingdom absolution, and receive it again into the bosom of the Church. This ceremony was accordingly gone through, and on the 29th of November they were introduced into the presence of the legate at Whitehall. He made them a long oration upon the favours bestowed on the English nation in former times; he dwelt upon the *unity* of the Church, and similar topics; and enjoined them, as a penance, to repeal all the laws against Romanism. He then granted them a full absolution, which they all received, kneeling humbly before

* In the year 1818, a friar, in the Convent of St. Bartholomew, at Rome, assured some English visitants that "the holy father (the pope), who had received from the prince of the apostles the keys of heaven, and the power to forgive sins, could pardon murder, or any crime—but how he might not say!"—*Rome in the Nineteenth Century*.

him ! Sir Ralph Bagnel was the only one who refused. Such was the conduct of an English Parliament in the days of Queen Mary—kneeling before a traitor, and humbling themselves to the authority of a foreign priest ! They then all went to the chapel, and *Te Deum* was sung.*

On the Sunday following, December 2d, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord-chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross before King Philip and the cardinal. His text was, Romans, xiii., 11 : "And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep, for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed." Fox gives an account of this sermon, from notes taken by some persons who were present. After referring, as usual, to the Romish sacrament of the altar, the preacher compared the state of the nation, during the past twenty years, to that of a man asleep, and separated from others. As men in their sleep sometimes have evil dreams, so the nation had done evil ; and as a man, when desirous to sleep, puts out the candle, so all writers arguing for the Church of Rome had been put aside ; and images (which were *laymen's books*) were cast down and broken. He then declared, that in the latter part of King Henry's reign, and at the beginning of Edward's, there were thoughts of reconciling the nation to the Church of Rome, but the time was not then come. He also repeated the false assertion, so usual among Romanists, that England first received Christianity from Rome. This sermon was followed by a prayer for the pope, the cardinals, the clergy, the king, &c. ; also for "the souls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory."

The prominent part now taken by Gardiner in restoring the pope's authority, caused many to reflect how earnestly he had forwarded Henry's proceedings in casting off the papal yoke, and to remember the treatises he had written and published in defence of the king's supremacy. He had done this too decidedly to allow him to escape by excuse or evasion ; he therefore admitted his inconsistency, but compared himself to Peter, who, having fallen, had repented ; forgetting that there could be no point of comparison between his conduct and that of the apostle, particularly as the repentance of the latter almost immediately followed his offence, while Gardiner had persisted advisedly in his opposition to the pope's authority for upward of twenty years.

* The form of absolution used by the cardinal deserves notice. It was as follows : "Our Lord Jesus Christ, which, with his most precious blood, hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse, without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his Church, he by his mercy absolve you. And we, by apostolic authority given unto us by the most holy lord Pope Julius Third, his vicegerent on earth, do absolve and deliver you, and every one of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures, and pains for that cause incurred ; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy Church, as in our letters more plainly it shall appear. In the name," &c.

Burnet gives full particulars of the powers delegated to Cardinal Pole by the pope, from which the *real* intentions of the latter will appear, as well as the reluctance with which the hopes of an immediate, full restitution of the possessions of the Church were relinquished. Only a brief summary can be given here.

The first authority from the pope was dated March 8th, 1554. It empowered the cardinal to receive all heretics, and absolve them, and to pardon all irregularities committed by ecclesiastics. It also gave power to absolve all communities, universities, and individuals of every description, from any unlawful agreements which they had entered into with masters who had wandered,* and to absolve them, and *free them from their oaths!* Power was also given to dispense with the observance of Lent, upon the allowance of either the confessor or the physician. Clergymen under the degree of a bishop, who were married, might, upon their true conversion, be allowed to continue in that state, provided they gave no scandal, and did not perform any act of their ministry.

All this was *liberal* in the extreme! When the importance of these points is considered, and the extent of relaxation allowed thereon, it may appear surprising to learn that this instrument was not acceptable to the Romanists in England in general. There remained other clauses, which explain why the pope so readily granted the privileges above mentioned, and why all his partisans were not satisfied. Power was given to the cardinal to settle, as he thought fit, with the possessors of property which had belonged to the Church, as to the movables, and the profits they had received and consumed; but all immovables, such as land or buildings, were to be restored if the legate thought proper. This affected the possessors of abbey lands, and they had no desire to promote the pope's supremacy at such a cost. Farther powers, accordingly, were applied for, and another breve was granted, dated the 28th of June. This set forth that the pope, not willing that the recovering of the nation, and the salvation of so many souls, should be obstructed by any worldly regards, permitted the legate to arrange with the possessors of any Church goods, and even to allow such persons as should be thought deserving, and were capable of rendering assistance in matters of religion, to retain possession of such as he saw fit, without scruple.†

The Parliament now proceeded with activity in restoring the Romish religion; and an act was passed repealing all the

* *Domini aberrantibus*, or heretical masters.

† In conference with the emperor, Pole explained that the intention of the pope was to insist upon *unity* with the Church of Rome as to doctrine; and as to the abbey lands, to give up any claim to the profits received, and to pardon all censures incurred. The lands themselves were to be restored, the pope engaging not to apply them to his own advantage, but for the service of God and the benefit of the kingdom.

laws made against the authority of the pope since the year 1539. The possessors of the abbey lands being unwilling to relinquish them, a clause was introduced into this act, confirming them to the persons in whose hands they then were. To farther this point, an address had been presented from the clergy to their majesties, requesting them to intercede with Cardinal Pole, and stating that they were unwilling to endanger "the Catholic Church, new newly restored," and would, therefore, forego these claims. Pole accordingly granted a dispensation, allowing the *detainers* of these lands and goods to possess them, but with a strong charge to all who had the goods of the Church to remember the judgments which fell on Belshazzar. It is worthy of notice, that both the cardinal and the clergy used the expression *detainers*; and the whole proceeding clearly shewed that it was intended only to allow these claims to remain dormant for a time, and not to relinquish them entirely.* This address from the clergy also contained an urgent request that all their former powers and jurisdiction might be restored to them. The act above mentioned also declared that bulls from Rome (the decrees of the pope) might be executed in England; and the statutes of mortmain were suspended for twenty years, to induce the laity to bestow their goods upon the Church, the ruling ecclesiastics thinking that many might be induced peaceably to resign the abbey lands, as well as to grant fresh donations, when on their death-beds, which would have been prevented by the statute of mortmain, had it remained in force. ~ In a word, all things respecting religion were, as nearly as possible, brought back to the state in which they were in the year 1530, before the quarrel between Henry and the See of Rome had commenced.

The next act revived the old laws against heretics and Lollards, which had been repealed during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. By this measure the power of proceeding against heretics was again committed to the Romish clergy, as fully as at any former period: so that they could now arrest persons, imprison, try, and condemn them, by their own authority, and without any others being allowed to interfere. Another law placed the government in the hands of Philip during the minority of any children the queen might have, if she died before him. At that time the whole nation expected the speedy birth of an heir to the throne, and prayers were publicly offered up for an event so desirable to the Romanists.

* Sir William Petre then secretary of state, evidently was of this opinion, as in the next year he obtained a special bull from the pope, confirming to him the Church lands which he had purchased. All these, it was stated, Petre was ready to relinquish, but that the pope, for a stronger reason, thought proper to confirm them to him!

Another law was passed, in great haste, on the 16th of January, upon which day the Parliament was dissolved. It referred to some Protestant preachers, who had prayed that God "would turn the heart of the queen from idolatry to the true faith;" and others were said to have added, "or that she might be removed." Persons using these expressions were to be punished as traitors.

Gardiner had now fulfilled his promises to the queen and to the emperor. He had restored the pope's authority and the Romish religion in all its strictness; while, on the other hand, he had apparently confirmed the owners of abbey lands in their possessions. Thus he satisfied all whose bigotry desired to see Romanism fully restored, and he in some degree quieted the fears of those who were anxious for their private interests. These two classes included the majority of the nation; such as opposed the doctrines of the Church of Rome from conscientious motives, he intended to silence in a different manner.

At the dissolution of this Parliament, public rejoicings were ordered for the reconciliation with the pope; and letters were accordingly sent to all the sheriffs, stating that the realm was "now restored again into God's favour, and the unity of the mother Holy Church;" and that, considering how much thankfulness was to be shown "for these and other innumerable benefits of Almighty God," mass and Te Deum were to be performed publicly, and the sheriffs were to order bonfires to be made in all places. King Philip and Queen Mary at this time rode through the city in state, preceded by Bishop Gardiner and the cardinal, in his scarlet robes, and with his cross carried before him. He bestowed his blessings upon the people very bountifully as he went along; but this mummery had not the same influence as in former times, and the citizens derided him and his blessings. Neither did they reverence the cross, nor exclaim, "God save the king and queen." A fearful anticipation of what was to come seemed to occupy the minds of the spectators. Gardiner was much offended, and as he passed along, he noted the most prominent instances of disrespect, saying to his servants continually, "Mark that house!" "Take that knave to the counter." "Who ever saw such heretics, who will neither reverence the cross nor their majesties?" Mountain, the clergyman mentioned in chapter II., stood at the end of Soper-lane (Queen-street), and heard him use these words.

Swarms of Romish books now issued from the press. As usual, the *free use of the Scriptures* was opposed. One writer stated above thirty reasons why the Scriptures ought not to be allowed in the English tongue. He said they tended to the destruction of souls; that "by this *damnable liberty* all holy mysteries had been despised, and the people had utterly

condemned everything (every doctrine or tenet) that was not expressed in the letter of their English Bibles ; that the universal Church of Christ did never allow nor approve the Scripture to be in the vulgar language, but ever, from time to time, did *tread that down* among other errors, and suppress it ; therefore, away with the English damnable translation, and let them learn the mysteries of God reverently by heart, and learn to give as much credit to that which is not expressed in Scripture." If we refer to the modern arguments of the Romish opposers of the circulation of the Scriptures in our own country, particularly in Ireland, we shall be struck with their similarity to the doctrines maintained in "The Days of Queen Mary." Another treatise was entitled, "*The Way Home to Christ and Truth.*" The author called upon his readers to "discern the value of the old and ancient jewels, of late not regarded, and to rejoice that in this new and miraculous reign of *merciful Mary*" (a few Romanists still venture to give her this title !), "so many good old orders were newly restored !"

We may now briefly notice the lamentable case of Sir James Hales, of Kent, a pious and able judge of the Court of King's Bench. He opposed the settlement of the crown upon Lady Jane Grey, and therefore ought to have been favoured by Queen Mary ; but he was a heretic, and the earliest opportunity of proceeding against him was seized. During the first year of the queen's reign, *before* the law against the mass had been repealed, some priests were indicted at the assizes for Kent, because they had officiated at that idolatrous service. Hales, of course, recommended the jury to find their verdict agreeably to the law as it *then* stood. For this, Bishop Gardiner, sitting as lord-chancellor in Westminster Hall, called him to account, October 6th, 1553, and said that, although he had the law on his side, yet he might have had regard to the queen's present doings in that matter. Hales defended his conduct, upon which Gardiner told him that he was no longer a judge. He signified his obedience to the queen's will, and departed.

In a few days he was committed to prison, where he continued till the month of April, when, by the importunities and persuasions of some friends, he was induced to recant. Soon afterward, he was so deeply struck with horror and remorse at having thus denied his Lord and Master, that his reason gave way, and in a moment of despair he attempted his own destruction ; but a servant returning unexpectedly to the room, his life was saved. The next day, Gardiner, while sitting on the bench as lord-chancellor, publicly adverted to this painful occurrence, and took the opportunity to blaspheme the Gospel, calling it the *doctrine of desperation* ; but in this, as in other cases, his Romish zeal betrayed itself ; for the

desperation of Hales was to be charged, not on the Gospel, but on his having forsaken it. The end of this excellent judge was lamentable: being dismissed to his home, he was so overwhelmed with sorrow and despair, that he cast himself into a river. Upon this painful circumstance it is best not to offer any comment. Strype relates other distressing cases, in which professors, who had been persuaded to be present at mass, fell into similar temptations.

Great exertions had been made with many of the leaders among the Protestant clergy to induce them to recant. In a few instances the Romanists were successful. A sifting time was now come, and the Lord was pleased to permit the wheat to be separated from the chaff. Some few, also, who proved faithful in the end, for a time denied their Master; they fell like Peter, and, like him, they continued not as apostates, but speedily returned to their Lord, deeply sorrowing for their weakness. Among the latter was the celebrated *Jewel*. He was distinguished at the University of Oxford for his piety and abilities, and was one of the first who felt the effects of Queen Mary's accession to the throne, being expelled his college almost immediately, for refusing to be present at mass. For a time he was protected by many in the university, and was appointed public orator; but, as Romanism increased in strength, he found himself involved in greater dangers. Dr. Marshall, dean of Christ Church, sent him a form of recantation, which, in a moment of weakness, he subscribed. His situation was now worse than before: his conscience accused him for what he had done, while his enemies, knowing he had only complied through fear, sought farther occasion against him. At last he fled for his life, and, reaching London with much difficulty, he escaped to the Continent, and immediately made a public declaration of his sorrow at having departed from his profession. *Barlow* and *Scory*, two of the Protestant bishops who were deprived of their sees, also had been induced to recant, but they likewise joined the exiles.

But there were others of a contrary character: one *Grimbold*, being confined in the Marshalsea, was persuaded to recant; his change was kept secret, and he continued apparently a prisoner, but acted as a spy upon his former companions. Thus, he obtained many writings of *Ridley*—he had been one of that bishop's chaplains—and gave them to the persecuting prelates. *Harding*, afterward the antagonist of *Bishop Jewel*, also was a lamentable instance of apostacy. He had been tutor to Lady Jane Grey, but turned to Romanism, to the great grief of his excellent pupil.

Dr. *Pendleton* had been noted as a zealous preacher among the Reformers, and, when Mary came to the throne, he declared that he would hold fast his profession. One day, as

he conversed with Laurence Saunders upon the subject, the latter said that he was very fearful lest the trials about to come should be more than he could bear. Pendleton encouraged him not to forsake his flock, and concluded by saying, "I carry a greater mass of flesh upon my back, and therefore ought to be more fearful of sufferings than you; but I will see the last drop of this grease melted, and the last morsel of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I forsake God and his truth." The sequel proved such as might have been expected. The fearful saint was upheld with strength from on high, while the proud boaster, left to himself, speedily recanted, and became a zealous advocate for Romanism!

The calm and patient courage with which these who were imprisoned for Christ's sake were enabled to support their present sufferings, and to look forward to others still more severe, was plainly shewn in the letters written by them at this period. Bishop Hooper, in a letter written in the month of September, which he addressed "To my dear brethren, my relievers and helpers in the city of London," thanks them for their kindness in preserving his body from hunger, and other necessities which he must have endured had it not been for their benevolence, and proceeds thus :

"Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my body, and appointed no one halfpenny to feed or relieve me withal. But I do forgive them, and pray for them daily in my poor prayers unto God; and from my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries. Wishing no farther extremity to be used toward us, yet, if the contrary seem best to our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved myself to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me; yea, death itself, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the cross for us wretched and miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads without leave and license of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, life let it be; if he will death, death let it be. Only we pray that our wills may be subject unto his will; and then, although we and the world see none other thing but death, yet, if he think life best, we shall not die—no, although the sword be drawn over our heads.

"Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey God's will, and for his commandments' sake, to surrender our goods and ourselves to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep goods and life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for God's cause, and nothing can at length do us good that is preserved contrary to God's com-

mandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ours after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither use nor govern ourselves contrary to his will by our own wisdom; for, if we do, our wisdom will, at length, prove foolishness. . . . If ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve God, and yet outwardly serve with the world the thing which is not God, ye deceive yourselves; for both the body and the soul must together concur in the honour of God, as St. Paul plainly teacheth. . . . Therefore, dear brethren, pray to the heavenly Father, that, as he spared not the soul nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain to work our salvation both of body and soul, so he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and souls to be servants unto him; for, doubtless, he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be miscontented with the one and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one and his hatred to the other. Let not us, therefore, good brethren, divide ourselves, and say our souls serve him, whatsoever our bodies do to the contrary." He then refers to their prospect of suffering, "with sword and fire, with loss of goods and lands," and tells them, "Remember, ye are the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening tide, that ye may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the kings of the earth. But he that hath called us into his vineyard, hath not told us how sore or how fervently the sun shall trouble us in our labour; but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterness thereof unto him, who can and will so moderate all afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him than in Christ he shall be able to bear."

The nation having been brought back under the pope's jurisdiction, and the terms of reconciliation made as easy as possible for all who would conform to the Romish religion, it became a matter of serious debate what proceedings should be adopted against those who refused to return to Romish superstition. Pole and Gardiner differed upon the subject. The cardinal, who had at times spoken warmly against the vices of the clergy, although he could not "cast a stone" at them, objected to severe proceedings. He thought the people would be more effectually brought back by gentle means, and proposed to remove one great stumbling-block, by enforcing a more correct life and conduct among the Romish clergy, and thus, by degrees, to win the people over to Romanism.

Gardiner was of a contrary opinion. He thought the chief hope of restoring their religion was by strictly enforcing the laws against Lollards and heretics. Judging of others by himself, he believed that the greater part of the Protestant

clergy then in prison would comply rather than be burned; and even if they would not, he was confident that their sufferings would terrify others, and induce them, at least outwardly, to conform. He therefore complained of Pole as too gentle, and said that the proposed reformation of the manners of the clergy would only give an advantage to heretics. Mary endeavoured to reconcile these conflicting opinions; correct in her own life, she encouraged Pole to reform the Romish clergy, while her arbitrary and bigoted disposition led her to approve of Gardiner's sanguinary proceedings.

Before an account is given of the measures resorted to, it is necessary to describe the solemn procession in London, on the 25th of January, 1555, to offer thanks for the conversion of the realm to the Romish faith, and its return to the authority of the pope. This pompous scene we shall describe. First went the children of the Gray Friars (now Christ's Hospital) and of St. Paul's school. Then ninety crosses were carried, and one hundred and sixty priests walked in rich garments, singing the Romish service. Next followed eight bishops; and last of all came Bonner, under a canopy, carrying the host, or consecrated wafer, in a pix. The lord-mayor and aldermen, and all the liverymen, followed. The king and the cardinal also met the procession at St. Paul's, where mass was performed; then they returned to Westminster, and at night bonfires were made in the streets.

To keep up a constant memorial of the reconciliation with Rome, it was ordered that, in future, St. Andrew's Day should be observed as the feast of the reconciliation, with the highest solemnities.

We cannot but observe the importance attached by the Romanists of that day to the restoration of the pope's supremacy in England (that is, the considering him as the only authority in spiritual matters), and their joy when this point was carried. It is desirable to notice this subject particularly, as at the present day Protestants, in general, are ignorant of what is meant by the supremacy of the pope, and few are aware how that power was obtained. The Romanists have continued to instruct their disciples upon all points of controversy; and in our land they have exercised much ingenuity in concealing the ancient explicit avowals of their church, with the real tendency of its doctrines; while Protestants have been shamefully negligent, and have allowed these specious representations to go forth until many among us have believed them to be correct.

Upon disputed points, those who love the truth always deem it best to refer to matters of fact. Romanists now represent the supremacy of the pope to be a harmless doctrine. Then let us see how this supremacy arose, as that will ena-

ble us to judge whether it is really such as they describe it. They represent Peter as having been appointed supreme over the other apostles ; they state that he was Bishop of Rome, and that, as such, he exercised undisputed authority over the other bishops, and transmitted this power to his successors, by whom it was handed down, in uninterrupted succession, till the Reformation arose.*

On the first point volumes have been written. It is impossible to compress within a single page all the arguments advanced upon the subject, but it may be stated that Peter was a poor weak mortal, except as the Lord strengthened him ; and wherever he is spoken of after the death of our Lord, he is mentioned as one of the apostles, not as superior to them ; and even, in some instances, we find that he was blamed and rebuked by his brethren ; neither do his epistles contain any intimation of this supreme power, but the reverse.

As to his being Bishop of Rome, and exercising authority over other bishops, it is not even certain that he ever was at Rome ! Although it is probable he was there, yet there is not the least evidence of his having exercised the power just mentioned ; and even Romish writers *cannot prove* that there is any certainty as to the correctness of the lists of names they generally represent as his successors ! The early writers gave different lists ; and all that the Church of Rome can really say is, as expressed by one of her own writers, she holds to that " which appears the most common and ancient opinion."

The writings of the fathers prove, that during the three first centuries, the bishops of Rome exercised no paramount authority over their brethren. They possessed considerable influence in the Christian world, as presiding over the congregations of the metropolis of the Empire ; but their opinions were often disputed and set aside by their brethren. In fact, the distinction they possessed rather exposed them to greater persecution than gave them superior power. Once, during this interval, the See of Rome was vacant for a whole year ; and Marcellinus, one of their number, apostatized from the faith for a time, though he afterward was supported under the pains of martyrdom. About the year 370, two individuals were named to the see at once, and a fierce contest arose between their respective partisans.

When Constantine became emperor, Silvester I. was Bishop of Rome. That monarch professed Christianity ; thus increased authority and privileges devolved upon the bishop of the imperial city.

Persecution for the truth having ceased, worldly-minded

* Such, at least, is the authorized representation upon this subject ; but several Romish writers have disputed this supremacy in many respects, and their writings are anathematized by the See of Rome.

men found their views promoted, rather than retarded, by the profession of Christianity. Many such now crept into the Church, and sought to obtain its highest offices. Ambition is a besetting sin; it readily flourishes wherever screened from persecution, and often prevails even in those of whom we have reason to hope well in many other respects. Gregory the First was Bishop of Rome about the year 600; and although he styled himself "Servant of the Servants of God," in many respects he showed that he was influenced by this evil principle. John, the Bishop of Constantinople, at this period had the title of universal bishop conferred upon him by a council of bishops, and confirmed by the emperor, who then resided at Constantinople. Although it was only to be exercised in a restricted sense, Gregory, unwilling to admit a superior, took the alarm, and urged John to lay aside this title, which he stigmatized in the strongest terms, as proud, profane, and diabolical. He farther reminded him, that none of the apostles had claimed such a pre-eminence over their brethren, and that his assuming that title was a proof that antichrist was at hand! These were the opinions of a bishop of Rome in the seventh century, respecting the title and the authority which Romanists, in general, contend has always been possessed by the prelates of that see! Mauritius, the emperor, countenanced John in retaining this appellation, but shortly afterward he was deposed and murdered by Phocas, one of his officers, who became emperor in his stead.

The usurper having obtained the throne by treachery and murder, showed himself to be a monster of cruelty and wickedness; yet Gregory praised him in the highest terms, and used his influence to strengthen the power of Phocas! The wily usurper felt the benefit of this assistance; and, though Gregory did not long survive, he resolved to strengthen that power which had tended to confirm him upon the throne. He revoked the title Mauritius had given to the Bishop of Constantinople, and conferred it upon Boniface III., of Rome, the successor of Gregory. The title of universal bishop has been assumed by all the succeeding popes, notwithstanding the anathemas which Gregory denounced against all those who claimed such a title!

Boniface speedily availed himself of this privilege. He called together a council, A.D. 607, in which a decree was passed, declaring that no election of a bishop should be deemed valid until confirmed by the Bishop of Rome, as supreme in the Church.* This power has been enjoyed ever since

* The Patriarch of Constantinople, and the bishops of the Eastern division of the Empire, refused to submit to the authority assumed by the Bishop of Rome. Thus the Eastern or Greek Church was separated from the Western, that is, the Romanish, to which it never was subject; and so much for the universality of the Church of Rome, even in the early ages of Christianity!

by the popes wherever their jurisdiction extends, and is exercised by them, *even now*, with regard to the Romish prelates in Great Britain and Ireland!

Thus the pope acquired *spiritual authority*; and Pope Agathus, who died in 682, commanded that the decrees of the pope should be considered as apostolical, and of the same authority as if they had been delivered by St. Peter; meaning that they were to be accounted equal to the Word of God! Temporal power was obtained afterward by means of another usurper! Pepin was prime-minister of Childeric, king of France, a weak prince; this crafty servant inquired of Pope Zachary whether he ought not to enjoy the title of king, since he exercised the power! Zachary decided in favour of Pepin, who availed himself of this declaration as a Divine authority for dethroning his master.

Let us notice the degree of temporal authority then enjoyed by the popes. After Rome had been plundered by the Goths, the seat of government was removed from that city to Constantinople, and Italy was ruled by an inferior officer, the Exarch of Ravenna. The popes having obtained spiritual power, as already related, they made it the means of strengthening their temporal authority, and found this more easily effected under a provincial governor than it would have been in the presence of a monarch; thus they became the chief rulers of the city of Rome, then much decayed. Their authority was farther strengthened by the following circumstance. In the early part of the eighth century, the Christian world was agitated by differences of opinion respecting the worship of images. The Bishop of Rome, and all who submitted to his sway, warmly encouraged the renewal of the ancient idolatry, while at that time the Eastern patriarch and his followers opposed it. As remonstrance failed to check this growing evil among his Western subjects, and as they appeared ready to dispute his authority in other respects, the emperor sent some troops to Ravenna. These were opposed and defeated by the Italians, who rose in rebellion, at the instigation of the pope. Thus the imperial authority was weakened, and the exarch became little more than a tool in the hands of the popes.

The Roman Empire was already divided among different powers, which had risen up in various parts. In the course of time, the King of Lombardy endeavoured to enlarge his dominions, and wished to subjugate the city of Rome to his authority. This occurred at the period just noticed. Pope Stephen the Second, the successor of Zachary, applied to Pepin for assistance; and that monarch, knowing that he owed his authority principally to the popes, like Phocas, felt the importance of supporting their power. After various events, which need not be detailed here, the King of Lombar-

dy was forced to relinquish his pretensions, and Rome, with the principality of late years called the territories of the Church, was assigned to the pope, who thus became a temporal prince, exercising authority over the bodies as well as the souls of men. This contest terminated about the year 750.* To confirm the gift, a forged document was produced, which purported to be a donation from Constantine to the Bishop of Rome.

In the writings of Baronius and the other annalists of Rome, we are told how the popes exercised the power thus obtained. The painful and disgusting details, related even by Romish historians, of the profligacy and impiety of the popes during the Middle Ages, before the light of the Reformation had shown the possessors of the papal chair the necessity, at least, of some decency of manners, and regard to public opinion, need not here be brought forward.† Nor need we relate how this temporal power was increased, till Frederic and Henry, emperors of Germany, our own King John, with other monarchs, were set up and pulled down, at the pleasure of the pope. Even the warmest advocate of Romanism will not dispute these facts, and he will scarcely venture to defend them.

The contests for authority between various pretenders to the papacy—for there were sometimes two, and even three popes at once, each anathematizing the other—gradually weakened the temporal authority; but for many successive centuries the kings of the earth continued to “give their strength and power unto the beast.” (Rev., xvii., 13.)

What we have to notice is the supremacy, as restored by Queen Mary in England; but also let us inquire to what extent it is now *maintained* by the Romanists in our own coun-

* It should be mentioned, that at this time, while the King of the Lombards besieged Rome, the pope not only wrote to Pepin for help in his own name, but sent a letter which purported to be written by St. Peter himself, from heaven, to the French monarch! In this the apostle is represented as conjuring and beseeching him, “if he cared to be cleansed from his sins, and to earn an eternal reward, to hasten to the relief of his city, his Church, and his people.” Another extract may be given. The apostle is represented as declaring “that Our Lady, the Virgin Mary, the mother of God joins in earnestly entreating, nay, and commands you to hasten, to run, to fly to the relief of my favourite people, &c. My vicar might, in this extremity, have recurred, and not in vain, to other nations, but with me the French are, and ever have been, the first, the best, the most deserving of all nations; and I would not suffer the reward, the exceeding great reward that is reserved in this and the other world for those who shall deliver my people, to be earned by any other.”—See *Bower's History of the Popes*. Surely, a St. Peter who could be supposed to dictate such an epistle as this, must have been far different from him who wrote that “The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil.” But, seriously, does not this sufficiently show us *why* the Church of Rome had already begun to prevent the study of the Scriptures?

† Even as late as the fifteenth century, Sixtus IV., who was pope in 1471, was such a monster of iniquity, that the historians avoid entering into the particulars of his conduct, and several of his successors were nearly as vile.—See *Heydigger's History of the Papacy*.

try, for the pope still possesses much authority here, and still more in the sister kingdom.

In a catechetical work, sanctioned by authority, it is thus explained. "Q. Wherein consists the power of the Bishop of Rome as head of the Church?"

"A. As he is appointed by Jesus Christ to be the supreme head and pastor of the Church under him, to be the spiritual father and teacher of all Christians, with full power to feed and govern the whole flock, *therefore* he is the supreme judge and lawgiver in *all things relating to religion*, whether as to faith, manners, or discipline. The primacy both of honours and jurisdiction over all other bishops belongs to him, and all the members of the Church† are obliged to pay the greatest respect, veneration, and obedience to his decrees and orders in *all things* relating to religion."†

Such, then, is the power or supremacy of the pope, as declared to be established over the Romanists, even in Great Britain, at the present day. Now it extends no farther than to those individuals who voluntarily submit to its dictates; but in the days of Queen Mary, it was not a speculation or matter of belief, which men might adopt or refuse, as they pleased. It then reigned paramount over all; and every one who gainsaid or disputed the pope's authority, had no alternative but submission or the flames! In the next chapter we shall see the consequences resulting from the restoration of this supremacy in its full extent.

* See *The Sincere Christian Instructed from the Word*, by Bishop Hay, quoted in *The Protestant* (No. 106), to which work the reader is referred for farther remarks on this subject.

† And the Church of Rome declares there is no salvation for any others. "No one can be saved out of it."—*Butler's Catechism*.

‡ Here is no toleration for any others whatever.

CHAPTER V.

Martyrdom of Rogers, Hooper, Taylor, and Saunders.
A.D. 1555.

Rogers, the first martyr in Queen Mary's reign, burned in Smithfield.

QUEEN MARY had now been seated upon the throne for eighteen months; and during that period Romanism had been gradually restored, till England was again fully subjected to the authority of the pope. As a certain consequence, the sanguinary laws enacted in former times against all who ventured to differ from any doctrines taught by that Church, which assumes *to be infallible*, were again restored in their fullest severity.* Let us for a moment reflect upon the state in which our forefathers were placed.

* The reader will observe, that after Henry the Eighth had thrown off the papal yoke, the severity of the laws against heretics was, in many respects, abated. It is true that the same cruel death was inflicted upon all who differed from the Romish doctrines, but an individual was no longer seized at the mere will of an ecclesiastic, retained in prison according to his pleasure, and sentenced by him to death. Henry's laws amended this system; heresy was considered a crime cognizable as other offences. A prisoner could not be seized without the concurrence of the civil power; he was tried by due course of law, allowed to disprove the accusation if he could, and only condemned, if found guilty, by the verdict of a jury. Had as even such a system must have been, it was infinitely preferable to the course pursued under the authority of the pope and his clergy.

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The Romish ecclesiastical authorities had full power to cause any person to be seized at their pleasure, and confined, without trial, as long as they chose, in prisons wholly under their own control. At length, when these persecutors of the flock of Christ thought fit, the prisoner was brought forth, and arraigned before the Romish prelates. But let not the reader suppose that the accused was allowed the privileges now granted even to the most atrocious criminal. There was no jury to decide; no judge humanely examining the evidence brought forward by the accuser; no counsel to advise, or make such inquiries as the case suggested; no friends, whose presence at least shows the poor prisoner that some individuals sympathize in his fate. There was no open examination of witnesses, nor was the prisoner allowed to call for persons whose testimony might disprove the accusations brought against him.

But let us more minutely consider the proceedings to which every individual in England was then exposed. After enduring an arbitrary imprisonment, generally in a loathsome dungeon, loaded with fetters, and debarred from the necessities of life, view the prisoner, enfeebled with long confinement, brought before the iniquitous and cruel Bonner, or some one of a like spirit, whenever his judge was pleased to summon him, and commonly without any previous notice. See him before this dread tribunal, in its private chamber of judgment, from whence strangers usually were excluded, knowing that those before whom he stood had already listened to his accusers, and determined on his fate! View him, received with taunts and revilings, commanded to hear accusations brought forward by some secret enemy; not permitted to disprove any calumnies with which he might be charged, but required "*to turn or burn*"—to admit that he was justly accused—to deny what his conscience told him was truth—to embrace the doctrines of men, and deny the Word of God, renouncing his hope of salvation! If he could thus make shipwreck of his conscience, he was permitted to depart, and, in some instances, honours and preferments awaited him. Still, however, he would remain a *marked man*, strictly watched, and sure of farther persecution if he again attempted to throw off a yoke too heavy to be borne by the real follower of Christ. But should he, with courage given him from on high, refuse this alternative, and continue steadfast in the faith, declaring his adherence to the truths of the Gospel, his fate was sealed! The judge might, perhaps, remand him for a short interval, or even try to work upon him by false professions of kindness; but, when these efforts proved fruitless, his end was certain! He was condemned and sent to the stake, probably within a few hours; there *to be burned alive*, often with protracted sufferings, subjected to insults

and violence from ignorant and bigoted individuals, who were taught to believe that such proceedings were acceptable to a just and holy God! Nor was this all. The martyr suffered not only in his own person, but also in those who were near and dear to him. When called upon to give the short, yet important answer, which would seal his fate, he knew that every member of his family would have to share the bitter cup of persecution. Already the beloved of his soul were pining at home, supported only by the scanty remnant of the earnings of his former industry, or dependant upon the charity of others, and about to be cast helpless upon the world, doomed to bear the disgrace which would be attached to his name by a cruel and hard-hearted generation!

This is a faint sketch of the sufferings which the follower of the truth had to endure in "the Days of Queen Mary;" and Gardiner might well suppose that no *human* fortitude could resist such an ingenious combination of cruelties. Men have endured much in a bad cause, and have even laid down their lives, when the dread of worldly shame, or the hope of human glory, or some other *temporal* motive, has been their support. But the poor Lollard and gospeller had no such aid: *all earthly motives* combined to induce him to prefer the easy alternative of submission; and nothing except that faith by which Moses "chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season," could enable him to behold, unmoved, the fiery trial prepared for him. But the Holy Spirit was with those who constituted "the cloud of witnesses" concerning whom we are about to inquire. They had respect unto the recompense of the reward; and looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of their faith, they deemed themselves happy to be reproached for the name of Christ: they were enabled to suffer according to the will of God, and to commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator.

Let it be remembered that these sufferings were not peculiar to those times, nor confined to England. In a greater or less degree, they have ever been experienced in all countries where Romanism has ruled without control. There are individuals now alive who themselves witnessed similar scenes in Spain, who beheld a helpless female committed to the flames at Seville,* and who have visited the secret chambers of torture at Barcelona and elsewhere, in which those who doubted concerning the erroneous tenets of the Church of Rome suffered an equally cruel, though less public death, in later days. From the year 1017, when the canons of Orleans

* Blanco White says, "I well remember the list that was burned for being a heretic in my own town, Seville. It was a poor blind woman. I was then about eight years old, and saw the pile of wood upon barrels of pitch and tar, where she was reduced to ashes." It was in the year 1761.

were burned alive for withstanding the corruptions of the Church of Rome, it has ever been a ruling principle with her, that all who differ from her doctrines are to suffer persecution. Let this point not be misunderstood; many Romanists at the present day, and in past times, have disapproved of these proceedings, but the Church of Rome never has disavowed this doctrine.* We are constantly told that the Church of Rome is infallible and unchanged; and such being the case, it appears still to be a principle of Romanism, that all whom that church terms heretics should suffer, where it possesses uncontrolled power to enforce its doctrines to their full extent. In the days of Queen Mary that power was exerted in our land, and the detail of the proceedings which ensued should make us thankful that it was permitted to rule only for a short period. As Neal has observed in his History of the Puritans, "the particulars of her reign ought to be transmitted down to posterity in characters of blood."

Parliament having restored the laws against heretics in their full severity, it was dissolved on the 16th of January, 1555. As we have already seen, Gardiner and his associates had determined upon the course to be pursued, in conformity to the inclinations of Queen Mary, and they immediately proceeded to avail themselves of the powers they now possessed.

The most active and zealous ministers among the Reformers had been committed to prison, on various pretexts, almost immediately upon the queen's accession to the throne, and they were detained there without trial, or regular accusation, till affairs could be brought into the state which the Romanists desired. Then no farther time was lost: they selected the first victims from among the Protestant clergy, and Bishop Hooper was marked as the principal sacrifice. On the 23d of January, several of them were brought before Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, and some others, at his palace near St. Mary Overy's (St. Saviour's) Church in Southwark, and were asked whether they would turn, and receive the queen's pardon, or adhere to the doctrines they had taught, and suffer the consequences. This was the simple alternative presented to them; they were no longer accused as rebels or traitors, under which false pretext some of them had been committed to prison, but only questioned as to their religious opinions. One individual, a citizen of London, sub-

* In one of her modern catechisms, she declares, "It is not to be denied that heretics and schismatics, because they have revolted from the Church (for they no more belong to the Church than deserters do to the army they have abandoned), it is not, however, to be denied that they are in the power of the Church, as persons who may be called by her to judgment, *PUNISHED, and doomed by anathemas to damnation!*"—See the Catechism of the Council of Trent. The above is a literal translation; but in the edition printed for Ireland, it is softened thus: "It is not to be denied that they are in the power of the Church, as those who may be judged by her, and condemned with an anathema."—See *Accusations of History against the Church of Rome*, by the Rev. G. Townsend, p. 164.

mitted; and another, having, through the favour of Lord William Howard, only been asked "whether he would be an honest man, as his father was before him," instead of the usual questions, answered in the affirmative, and was discharged. The others, who were examined more particularly, continued steadfast in the faith. On the 28th of January, Bishop Hooper, Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre's (who assisted in the early edition of the English Bible), and Cardmaker, prebendary of Wells, were again brought before Gardiner and his coadjutors. From Cardmaker's answers, the Romish prelates hoped that he would turn, and he was sent to another prison; but Rogers and Hooper were brought before them once more, on the next day, in private, condemned as heretics, and sent to Newgate, being committed to the secular power, that they might be burned. On the following day, January the 30th, some others were brought before this tribunal, when Dr. Rowland Taylor, vicar of Hadleigh, in Suffolk; Saunders, vicar of Allhallow's, Bread-street; and Bradford, one of the prebendaries of St. Paul's, were excommunicated, and condemned as heretics. They were then delivered to the sheriffs, to be burned: Bradford's sentence, however, was respite for a time.

A modern historian has asserted that the queen did not fully approve these measures; but it is well authenticated that, when Rogers told Gardiner that the queen would not have proceeded to these lengths in persecution had it not been for his advice, the Romish prelate answered, "*that the queen went before him in these proceedings, and that they were of her own motion.*"

We can only briefly notice these examinations. Rogers being required to own the supremacy of the pope, answered, that he knew no other head of the Church than Christ. They told him he had admitted King Henry to be the supreme head; he replied, that he had admitted this only as to temporal matters; not according to their doctrine, that the pope, being head of their church, had power to forgive sins, to bestow the Holy Ghost, and to determine even contrary to the Word of God. He also reminded Gardiner that he had himself formerly denied the pope's supremacy in the strongest terms; and said, "Ye never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity all the world doth understand." Rogers was then silenced, and put by. His opinions respecting the sacrament have been previously examined. We may here remark, that the statutes against heretics could not legally extend to declarations against the errors of popery made *before* these laws were again enacted; but by requiring the martyrs then to state

their belief upon the points wherein it was known they rejected the tenets of Romanism, they were at once brought within reach of these statutes, and exposed to punishment.

Hooper was accused of having married a wife, of arguing that divorces were lawful in certain cases without the pope's dispensation, and of denying the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. He admitted these accusations, and offered to show the truth of his opinions, but this was not allowed.

When Rogers was condemned, he requested permission to see his wife, that he might take leave of her, and give some directions respecting his eleven children, urging that she was a foreigner, and therefore the more needed his counsel. This favour, even then allowed to the most atrocious felon, was refused to the zealous preacher of God's word; and, in giving his refusal, Gardiner denied that she could be his wife, expressing himself in the coarsest language! After their condemnation, Hooper and Rogers were detained till it was dark, and were then sent to Newgate, in the custody of the sheriffs of London, guarded by many armed men. Desirous of concealing what had passed, or fearing an attempt to rescue the prisoners, the sheriffs sent forward some of their officers to put out the lights in the stalls and shops along the streets (there were no lamps at that time in London); but many persons watched the approach of the prisoners, and coming to their doors with lights, entreated their blessing, fervently praying that God would strengthen them to the end in the doctrine he had hitherto enabled them to maintain.

They were confined in Newgate for six days, in hourly expectation of the writ for their execution. On the 4th of February, they were carried down to the chapel of the prison, where Bonner attended to degrade them. This ceremony being performed, Rogers was delivered over to the sheriffs, who immediately led him forth to Smithfield, where the pile was prepared. He had repeated to Bonner his request to be allowed to speak to his wife; this was again refused him; but on his way to the stake he saw her in the street, with his eleven children, one at the breast and ten standing by her side, anxiously waiting for that painful opportunity for a last sight of her beloved husband. Severe as this trial must have been, he was enabled to endure steadfastly to the end, and again refused a pardon offered if he would recant, saying, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Thou art a heretic," said the sheriff. "That shall be known at the last day," answered Rogers. "I will never pray for thee," exclaimed the persecutor. "But I will pray for you," replied the martyr. He suffered the torments prepared for him with patience and fortitude, washing his hands, as it were, in the flames while he was burning. Thus died the

FIRST MARTYR in this reign, about eighteen months after the accession of Mary to the throne.

Fox has given a particular account of several examinations of Rogers, "which he penned with his own hand," and records the remarkable manner in which these documents were preserved. One reason for his earnest desire to see his wife, probably, was to inform her where he had concealed these writings; but, as already mentioned, his cruel persecutors refused to allow the wife an interview with her husband. After his decease, she was permitted to visit the place of his confinement, with one of her sons. They sought for his writings, but in vain, till, just as they were about to depart, the lad saw something lying in a dark corner under the stairs, which proved to be a book containing his examinations, with some other pieces he had written. At the end were some observations upon the events then occurring. The following is an extract: "If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already by these hypocritical tyrants and anti-Christian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the Catholic Church, of unity, of power, of strengthening of the realm!" He had, however, an anticipation of a time of deliverance; for he told Day, the printer of Fox's Acts and Monuments, at that time imprisoned for the truth, "Thou shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the Gospel preached again freely."

A paragraph subjoined to one of his examinations conveys a lively idea of his situation, and his patience and fortitude. He says:

"And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, which I had taken in hand to do, but at this present I was informed that I should to-morrow come to farther answer; wherefore I am compelled to leave it out, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the true children of the true unfeigned Catholic Church, That the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort and strength, buckler and shield, as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick, like true soldiers, to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true head of the Church, who doth in us all things, which is the very property of a head, and what all the bishops of Rome cannot do; and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or, rather, out of the plain field, from him, in the jeopardy of the battle; but that

we may persevere in the fight till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at this present with weeping tears, most earnestly, desire and beseech you all to pray. And also if I die, be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, her and my children; whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, may the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation, the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen! Amen! The xxvii. day of January, at night."

HOOPER expected to have accompanied Rogers to the stake, but was led back to his cell; and in the evening he learned that he was to be carried down to Gloucester, to suffer among his own people. At this intelligence he rejoiced; his persecutors thought it would deter his flock from adhering to the doctrines their bishop had taught; but he praised God, believing that he should be enabled to suffer with such constancy as would be the means of confirming them in the truth. The next morning he was roused at four o'clock; and, being committed to the care of six of the Queen's Guards, they took him, before it was light, to the Angel Inn, St. Clements', then standing in the fields. After muffling their prisoner's face in a hood, they began their journey to Gloucester. On the third day they arrived in the city, and were met at the entrance by a crowd of people, who lamented the fate of their beloved pastor. Sir Anthony Kingston, a particular friend of Hooper, who had been reclaimed from a sinful course of life under the faithful preaching of the bishop, by a refinement of cruelty was ordered to superintend his burning, and now with tears urged him to remember that "life was sweet and death bitter." Hooper replied, that he was come thither to suffer death for the truths he had formerly taught in that place; and although life was sweet and death bitter, yet, by the strength of God's Holy Spirit, he trusted to pass through the sufferings prepared for him without shrinking, rather than deny the truth. A day's respite being allowed, he passed it in fasting and prayer, and had interviews with several persons, the particulars of which are both interesting and instructive. A blind boy, named Drowry, after much entreaty, was allowed to be introduced to the bishop, who, conversing with him and finding him steadfast in the faith of Christ, said, "Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what cause he best knoweth; but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him that thou lose not *that* sight; for then shouldst thou be

blind both in body and soul." This pious lad was afterward burned.

Bishop Hooper thanked the mayor and sheriffs for their courtesy towards him, and requested that there might be "a quick fire, shortly to make an end." We shall see how far this was complied with. He added, "I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die, for it is well known I might have had my life, with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and to give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked, papistical religion of the Bishop of Rome."

The sheriffs would have lodged him that night in the common jail; but the guards who brought him from London declared how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had conducted himself; adding that any child might keep him, and that they would rather continue to watch him themselves than he should be treated harshly. He was then suffered to remain at the private house whither he had been at first conducted. The venerable martyr desired to go to bed betimes, saying he had many things to remember. Having slept one sleep soundly, he rose and spent the rest of the night in prayer, desiring no one would come to his chamber till eight o'clock, the hour fixed for his martyrdom.

On the 9th of February, he was led forth to execution, to the place appointed, which was before the Cathedral. Observing the armed men, he said he was no traitor, and there needed not these precautions, for he would have gone by himself to the stake if they had desired. He went leaning upon a staff, as he suffered pain from his long imprisonment. A vast concourse of people, estimated to exceed seven thousand in number, had assembled. He wished to address them, but was restrained by a promise which he had been constrained to give;* for the Romish prelates threatened the martyrs that their tongues should be cut out, unless they would engage not to speak to the multitudes who might assemble to witness their execution; but it was remarked that his countenance was serene and unusually cheerful! He then knelt down in prayer; and presently a box was set before him, said to contain his pardon if he would recant. This he desired they would take away if they loved his soul. Lord Shandois desired him to despatch, but Hooper requested to be permitted to finish his prayer, part of which was heard by some of the by-standers, who stepped forward; it was to the following purport: "Lord, thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy, therefore, upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven; receive me to be partaker of thy

* The queen's own letter, ordering the manner of Hooper's death, expressly directed that he should "not be suffered to speak."

joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, O Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions which I have committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me; the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, I, being thereto called, have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature; such, Lord, as, without thy strength, none is able to bear or patiently to endure. But all things that are impossible with man are possible with thee. Therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that when in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory." When he had proceeded thus far, the mayor perceived the persons listening, and ordered them away. After some farther time spent in prayer, Hooper was fastened to the stake. Three irons were brought for this purpose; but he said, "Trouble not yourselves; I doubt not God will give strength sufficient to abide the fire without these bands; notwithstanding, suspecting the weakness of the flesh, although I have assured confidence in God's strength, do as ye think good." The hoop prepared for his middle was then put round him with some difficulty, for it was too small.* The fire was kindled, and "in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people." His sufferings were very severe; two horse-loads of green fagots had been piled round the stake; these would not burn freely; and the morning being lowering with a high wind, the flame of the reeds was blown from him. A few dry fagots were then brought, but the quantity being small, and the wind boisterous, the fire only reached his legs and the lower part of his body. During this time Hooper stood praying, "O Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul!" When this fire was spent, he wiped his eyes with his hands, and mildly, but earnestly *entreated* that more fire might be brought. At length, a third and fiercer fire was kindled; some gunpowder, which had been fastened to him, exploded, though with little effect; but after some time the flame gained strength. He continued praying, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" till, as a bystander relates, with painful minuteness, "he was black in the mouth, and his tongue was swollen so that he could not

* A few years since, there was occasion to dig the spot which had always been pointed out as the place where Bishop Hooper was burned, when the remains of the stake and a piece of the iron were found.

speak ; yet his lips moved till they shrank from the gums ; and he smote his breast with his hands till one of his arms fell off ; he continued knocking still with the other, while the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers' ends, until, by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast to the iron upon his breast. Then bowing forward, he yielded up the spirit," after suffering inexpressible torments for nearly three quarters of an hour, "dying as quietly as a child in his bed."

The description of such sufferings must be intensely painful to the reader ; but it is necessary to give a correct idea of the "tender mercies" of these cruel persecutors. It was observed that, at the burning of all the early martyrs in this reign, green wood was used ; it is supposed that Gardiner had ordered this, to render the sufferings of the martyrs more severe, and to make the spectacle more terrifying to the spectators !

To cause a deep impression upon the Protestants by the sufferings of their ministers, others were ordered to be burned at the same time in different parts of the kingdom where they had preached the Gospel. Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR was sent to be burned at Hadleigh, in Suffolk. This town was one of the first that had listened to the truth. Bilney preached there ; and good seed had been sown in the hearts of the townsmen, which brought forth good fruit. Dr. Taylor was chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer when appointed to this parish, but he resided there, and fulfilled the duties of his cure with much assiduity. He was an active and zealous preacher of the Gospel, and exposed the errors and superstitions of the Church of Rome in an able manner.

Dr. Taylor, therefore, was a marked man, and some bigoted Romanists in the neighbourhood determined to expel him from his parish, and to introduce the mass. For this purpose, they hired one Averth, a Romish priest, of Aldham, a man notorious for the wickedness of his life, to come to Hadleigh on Palm Monday and say mass. This was in the year 1554 ; they attended with a number of armed men, knowing that Dr. Taylor, and the greater part of his parishioners, were too strongly attached to the truths of the Gospel to allow this intrusion, unless supported by force.

Having made these arrangements, they entered the church and began the Romish mass. Dr. Taylor was ignorant of their proceedings ; but hearing the bells ring, he supposed he was wanted at the church. The principal entrance was fastened ; but on gaining admittance by a side door, to his great surprise, he saw a popish priest in full robes, with "a broad, new-shaven crown," ready to begin the mysterious operation of turning bread into flesh. A number of armed men stood around with drawn swords, as if it were necessary to guard

their priest. Dr. Taylor remonstrated at this forcible invasion of his office, but was thrust out of the church with violence, and his wife after him.

The principal promoters of this outrage wrote to Gardiner, complaining of Dr. Taylor's conduct! That prelate summoned Taylor to appear before him; he went, accordingly, when he was received with abuse, being reviled as a knave, a traitor, and a heretic; he was committed to prison.

He was confined for a long time without any specific accusation, being, like many others, detained in custody, ready to be made a sacrifice as soon as the realm should be brought back to popery. At first, the prisoners were allowed free intercourse together, and were so numerous that, as Fox states, "Almost all the prisons in England were become Christian schools and churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations." "Ought not this to make us thankful for the happy difference of our times! Now we can hear the Gospel preached, and consult with the faithful ministers of God's word, without having to resort to prisons for that purpose! Let us not think lightly of such privileges. But this comparative liberty and usefulness did not long continue.

When the old laws against heretics were restored, Dr. Taylor was brought before Gardiner and his associates, on the 30th of January, 1555. As already mentioned, they were required to submit to the pope, and abjure their opinions, or to prepare for a painful death. They were enabled to continue steadfast in the faith; and, accordingly, were condemned and committed to the bishop's prison, called the Clink. As Dr. Taylor passed through the people, who had gathered around St. Saviour's Church, eager to learn the proceedings, he exclaimed, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." At night, he was removed to the Poultry Counter, the site of which is now occupied as a place of Protestant worship. On the 4th of February, after having degraded Rogers and Hooper at Newgate, Bonner proceeded on the same errand to the prison where Dr. Taylor was confined. The martyr was very unwilling to be dressed up in the Romish garb; and when it was done, he said, "If I were now in Cheapside, should I not have boys enough laughing at these apish toys and trumpery?" An instance of Dr. Taylor's cheerful humour is recorded. As a part of the ceremony, Bonner had to strike the doctor on the breast with his crosier. "Strike him not, my lord," said a chaplain, "for he will strike again." "Yea," exclaimed

* Or, when admittance was refused, many would listen under the windows of the prisons, while the martyrs prayed and read aloud.

Taylor, amusing himself with their apprehensions, "the cause is Christ's; and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel." So the bishop cursed him, but struck him not: "For," said Taylor afterward to Bradford, laughing and rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I should strike him indeed!" But these Romish priests knew not what spirit he was of. That evening the martyr enjoyed a privilege denied to his companions: by the kindness of the jailer, his wife, his son, and a faithful servant were allowed to sup with him.

This was a king's prison, under the authority of the magistrates; and, as Fox notices, the conduct of the keepers of these prisons (Newgate appears to have been an exception) was very different from that of the bishop's jailers. The latter were "ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their masters;" while the former were comparatively gentle, and, for the most part, treated the martyrs kindly during the short period they were in custody. From the time the acts against heretics were again in force, most prisoners accused of heresy were confined in the bishop's prisons. Let the reader notice this as a distinguishing mark of Romanism; the popish bishops had prisons of their own, and that not as a matter of form, or for real offenders, but dark and loathsome dungeons, or cold, comfortless towers, especially set apart for heretics! With the advance of light, and the knowledge of Gospel truth, this has passed away.

Dr. Taylor gave a Latin book to his son, in which he wrote his last will. It begins thus: "I say to my wife and to my children, The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord! God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable than any father or husband. Trust ye, therefore, in him; by the means of our Saviour, Christ's merits, believe, love, fear, and obey him; pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead; for I shall never die."

In the morning early, at two o'clock, a fit hour for such deeds, the sheriff of London came to the Counter, and carried Dr. Taylor to the Woolpack Inn at Aldgate long before it was light, thinking to escape observation. But his wife, having heard of the intended execution of the prisoners when she left the prison the preceding evening, repaired to the church porch of St. Botolph, Aldgate, and remained there all night (the 4th of February) with her eldest daughter, and an orphan girl whom they had brought up. It was dark, but the poor orphan discerned the sheriff and his company as they passed, and exclaimed, "O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away." She cried out, "Rowland, where art thou?" for the morning was so dark they could not see each other.

"Dear wife," said he, "I am here;" and the sheriff humanely suffered him to bid her farewell. They kneeled down and prayed together. "God be with you," said his wife; "I will, with God's grace, meet you at Hadleigh." This the sheriff prevented, but not in an unkind manner: He sent her to her mother's residence, having offered to let her remain in his own house if she preferred it. At the inn, Dr. Taylor was delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and at eleven o'clock that sheriff and his company prepared to set forward on their journey. The gates were closed to keep off the crowd. As they came out, Dr. Taylor saw his trusty servant, John Hull, with his son, standing against the rails. When he saw them, he called, "Come hither, my son Thomas." The boy was lifted up, and set upon the horse before his father. Dr. Taylor then put off his hat, and, addressing the by-standers, said, "Good people, this is mine own son; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." He then raised his eyes towards Heaven, and praying for his son, blessed him, and delivered the boy to John Hull, whom he took by the hand, saying, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfulest servant that man ever had."

They carried Dr. Taylor down to his own parish; but finding he was known upon the road, they covered his face with a hood, and acted in all respects with a degree of anxiety, which was a strong contrast to the cheerfulness of their prisoner, who felt that peace and joy which the world cannot give, and therefore cannot take away.

They travelled slowly, and stopped that night at Chelmsford. While at supper, the sheriff of Essex and the yeomen of the guard strongly advised the doctor to turn to Romanism. He paused a while, and then told them that he had considered their advice, and perceived that he had himself been deceived, and was likely to disappoint a great many at Hadleigh. The sheriff rejoiced at hearing this, and after expressing his pleasure, requested him to explain himself farther. Dr. Taylor then said, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcass, which I thought would have been buried in Hadleigh churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I hoped I should have done, but I see I was deceived; and there are a great number of worms in Hadleigh churchyard, which would have had jolly feeding upon this carrion. But now I know we are deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burned to ashes, and so shall they lose their feeding." The sheriff and his companions were deeply impressed by the cheerful fortitude of their prisoner; and Fox observes, had the Romish bishops meditated so constantly upon death as it was evident Dr. Taylor had done, they would not, for worldly motives, have forsaken God and his truth.

After staying two days at Lavenham, they arrived at Hadleigh on the 8th of February, and led Dr. Taylor through the town, without stopping. A poor man, with his five small children, waited at the bridge foot. They fell upon their knees, and the man cried aloud, "O dear father and good shepherd, Doctor Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children." The street was lined with people, who prayed for him; and entreated his blessing, weeping and lamenting that their good shepherd was thus taken from them. He frequently repeated, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come to seal it with my blood." When he came to the almshouses, he threw among the poor inhabitants the little money he had left. Dr. Taylor was immediately conducted to Aldham Common, on which a stone yet marks the spot where he was burned.* Here a great multitude was assembled. Being informed this was the place where he was to suffer, he exclaimed, "Thanked be God, I am now even at home;" and alighting from his horse, he tore off the hood which concealed his head. His hair had been notched, "evil favouredly, and clipped as man would clip a fool's head;" this was the work of Bonner when he degraded him. But when the people saw his revered countenance once more looking upon them with that benignant smile which they had so often delighted to contemplate, many burst into tears, and exclaimed, "God save thee, good Doctor Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee! The Holy Ghost comfort thee!" He would have addressed his people; but one of the guards thrust a staff into his mouth, and the sheriff bade him remember his promise.

As already mentioned, the prisoners had been threatened that their tongues should be cut out, unless they promised not to address the people who assembled at their execution. The Romanists, measuring other men's minds by their own, feared lest the people should be excited to rescue their faithful ministers when at the stake; but the martyrs knew that all things would redound to the glory of God. Though a painful death awaited them, they regarded it only as "a light affliction, which is but for a moment;" and looking forward to that heavenly habitation which was prepared for them, they gladly laid down their lives as witnesses for the truth, not desiring to stir up tumults or strife.

Dr. Taylor then pulled off his garments to his shirt, and gave them away. His boots he gave to a man named Soyce, saying, "Take them for thy labour; thou hast long looked for them." Then standing up, he said, "Good people, I have

* The following inscription is rudely engraved on this stone: "1555. D. Taylor in defending that was good. At this place left his blood." A monument was erected there in 1818.

taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons which I have taken out of God's holy book, the Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." One of the guards then struck him on the head, and silenced him. Seeing that he could not address his people, he kneeled down and prayed. A poor woman stepped forward and prayed with him; they tried to thrust her away, and threatened to ride over her; but she would not stir, and continued to pray with the martyr. He then went to the stake, and having kissed it, placed himself in a barrel prepared for him, directing his eyes towards heaven, and praying continually.

The sheriff found some difficulty in procuring persons to set up the fagots; at length it was done by four individuals: "Mullein, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman; Soyce, a very drunkard; Warwick, who had been concerned in the Romish Norfolk rebellion in King Edward's days; and King, a deviser of interludes," or manager of the players of that district. Such is the record of these characters. A worthy band, fit to execute the bloody commands of their queen, as signified by Gardiner and Bonner; and, accordingly, they discharged their offices with much cruelty! Warwick threw a fagot at the martyr with such violence as to fetch blood. "O friend," said the patient sufferer, "I have harm enough; what need of that!" He repeated the fifty-first Psalm in English. Sir John Shelton struck him on the mouth, saying, "Ye knave, speak Latin." The fire was then kindled. Dr. Taylor held up his hands, and said, "Merciful Father of Heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." He stood still in the midst of the flames, without crying or moving, his hands folded together, till Soyce struck him down with a halbert. Newall, his popish successor, preached a sermon next day, in which he ascribed Dr. Taylor's constancy to the power of the devil, and said that he died in a damnable case, if he did not repent!

This martyr was noted among his fellow-prisoners for his cheerfulness during the whole period of his imprisonment, as well as at the stake. Among the bitterest of his persecutors were some who had pretended to be zealous Protestants in the late reign, and again professed themselves such when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne.

LAURENCE SAUNDERS also was among the first who were called to endure this fiery trial. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, but his mother wished him to become a merchant. After a short trial, however, she allowed him to resume his studies and enter the ministry. After having been a faithful and active preacher of the truth in the diocese of Litchfield, he was appointed to the parish of Allhallows, Bread-street, just before the queen's accession to the throne.

He intended to have resigned his country parish; but see-

ing what times were at hand, he determined to lose no opportunity of faithfully declaring the truth. In the month of October, 1553, as he was returning to London, he met Sir John Mordant, one of the council, who advised him to forsake his cure. Saunders replied by inquiring how he could be justified before God if he did so, unless forbidden by lawful authority; offering to obey, if Sir John had power, and commanded him so to do. The knight replied that he would not forbid, but only advised him to forbear, and went to Bonner, informing him of Saunders's intention! He preached in the morning, and was ready to do so in the afternoon; but the bishop's officers came and took him to their master. Bonner accused him of treason, sedition, and heresy; but passing over the two former charges, required him to write his opinion concerning transubstantiation. Saunders did so, saying, "My lord, ye seek my blood, and ye shall have it." He was committed to prison, and detained there for fifteen months, suffering with much cheerfulness, till the Romish prelates had full power to proceed against heretics. No time was then lost. He was again examined, and condemned. On the fifth of February, he was sent to Coventry, in the care of some yeomen of the guard. On the first night they stopped at St. Alban's. A person named Grimauld, formerly a professor of the Gospel, supped with them. Saunders took the cup in his hand, and asked whether Grimauld would pledge him in the cup which he would begin. The faint-hearted apostate shrugged up his shoulders, and said, "Of the cup in your hand I will pledge you, but I will not promise to do so with the other which you mean." "Well," said the martyr, "my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath begun to me of a more bitter cup than mine shall be, and shall I not pledge my sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope to do so."

When they arrived at Coventry, a poor shoemaker came to Saunders, and said, "O my good master, may God strengthen and comfort you!" "Pray for me," replied he; "I am the most unfit man for this high office that ever was appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That night he was put into the common jail among the felons. Of this opportunity he availed himself, and spent the hours in prayer and instructing those around him.

The next morning, being the 8th of February, he was led forth to the park, where the Lollards had been burned. On being fastened to the stake, he kissed it, saying "Welcome the cross of Christ! Welcome everlasting life!" His sufferings, like those already described, were increased by the use of green wood and insufficient fuel; but he endured all his torments with Christian fortitude, being strengthened by the grace of God under the fiery trial, which he had feared,

102 OTHER PROTESTANTS CONDEMNED BY BONNER.

although enabled to continue steadfast in the faith under the frown of his judges.

Gardiner thought that the condemnation of these men would excite such consternation in the hearts of the Protestants, that they would no longer dare to profess their faith openly. But he was disappointed. Even before all these martyrs had suffered many others were accused of heresy, and boldly avowed their sentiments; while those who had long been imprisoned looked forward with more joyful eagerness for the day of their deliverance. Seeing that the measures had not produced the effect he looked for, Gardiner openly declared they had been commanded by the queen, and determined, in future, to leave others to carry them into execution.

The savage and brutal Bonner readily undertook the task; on the 8th of February, six persons were examined before him, and on the next day they were condemned. In this instance the prelates did not confine themselves to ecclesiastics. The persons condemned were **PIGOT**, a butcher; **KNIIGHT**, a barber; **TOMKINS**, a weaver; **HUNTER**, an apprentice; **HAWKES**, a gentleman of respectability; the only priest among the number was **LAURENCE**.

But these men were not immediately committed to the flames. The burning of Rogers and his companions excited a strong sensation throughout the kingdom. Although such measures had been expected ever since the queen's manifestation of her bigotry and intolerance, yet, when these executions actually took place, men were struck with horror, and loudly censured the proceeding, contrasting them with those of King Edward's reign. During that period, as in after times, none were burned for Romanism. Papists who refused to comply with the laws enacted to promote the Reformation were at most dismissed from their benefices; but in general they were allowed to retain them, upon a pretended submission. Now they saw men of the highest rank and exemplary characters detained in prison upon mere pretexts, required to declare their opinions, and, without a trial, condemned to suffer a painful death. Even those who had no real esteem for the Gospel could not but be impressed with the constancy displayed by the martyrs. The king was supposed to be chiefly in fault; it was remembered that he was Prince of Spain, where the Inquisition reigned without control. Philip's general conduct showed that he had no objection to bear such a character, but, in the present case, it was against his interest to be considered as the encourager of these cruelties. He was anxious that England should quietly submit to his sway, and this design was not likely to be attained if he increased his unpopularity with the people.

Under these circumstances, the king ordered his confessor,

Alphonsus à Castro, a Franciscan friar, to preach before him on the 10th of February; and in his sermon it was arranged that he should blame the putting men to death on account of religion. He followed his orders, and declared that the bishops had not learned these practices from Scripture. Gardiner and his associates were disconcerted at this disavowal, which they dared not openly to contradict. The *real* inclinations, however, of both the king and the queen were by no means to stop the burning of the martyrs; and after a few weeks' pause they were resumed. The labour of the examinations and condemnations now chiefly devolved upon Bonner, who entered upon the work with a savage ardour, which showed that it was conformable to his principles and grateful to his feelings.

As for the Spanish friar, he has left a sufficient testimony that his heart approved the proceedings, against which, in this case, his mouth bore testimony at the command of King Philip. He was the author of a treatise expressly on heresies, in which he defended the lawfulness of repressing them by death; and after his return to Spain, he was appointed Archbishop of Compostella; and none were, in those days, advanced to the prelacy in Spain who were not thought to be in all respects fully inclined to sanction and co-operate in the cruel proceedings of the Church of Rome, principally carried into effect by means of that horrid and cruel tribunal, the Inquisition.

Another circumstance also showed that it was not intended to discontinue these executions. Bishop Farrar was sent from London only four days after this sermon was preached, to St. David's, there to be burned.

The 14th of February was also remarkable for another circumstance. The image of Thomas à Becket had recently been set up over the gate of St. Thomas Acres, or Mercer's Chapel, in Cheapside, with his hand in the attitude of blessing the people.* These honours paid to that rebellious and

* The attitude above described was probably designed to commemorate a miracle recorded of Thomas à Becket. A Romish annalist gravely relates, that while the monks were singing a requiem over his body, the morning after he had been murdered, a choir of angels appeared, and joined in their melody; upon which the dead body, duly sensible of such an honour, extended its hand, and gave the monks a benediction as usual! The 29th of December is still observed as a festival, by the Church of Rome, in honour of Thomas à Becket. The following is the collect appointed for the day. "O Lord, for the sake of whose Church that illustrious high-priest, Thomas, was slain by the sword of wicked men, grant, we beseech thee, *that all who implore his help may effectually obtain salvation through his intercession.*"

We cannot but observe the frequency with which Romish advocates have publicly adverted to and praised this favourite saint, who does not appear to have possessed a particle of holiness in his life or conduct, and who stated that the exemption of guilty ecclesiastics from civil justice was one of the privileges which Christ purchased for his Church with his blood! Perhaps some light may be thrown upon this subject by the following extract from the notes to the Romish Martyrology, set forth by authority of Pope Gregory XIII., and ordered to be read publicly every day. Under the 29th of December, in an account of this most illustrious martyr, it refers to the English Romanists executed for treason against Queen Elizabeth, and says, "Our

worldly-minded prelate, who so decidedly contended for the usurped political power of the pope, in opposition to his lawful sovereign, are a sufficient proof of the full restoration of Romanism. The image was not suffered to remain long un-mutilated. On the second night, the fingers, which were extended in the act of giving the saintly benediction, were broken off, and on the morning of the day following the head also was missing. The Romanists were sorely displeased; and a mercer named Barnes, a professor of the truth, who dwelt opposite, was imprisoned, with three of his servants, and examined by Gardiner, but nothing could be proved against him. Notwithstanding this want of proof, he was ordered to repair the image at his own expense, and to enter into a bond to do so in future, if it should be again defaced. It was mended, accordingly, but within a month the head and arm were again broken off: and the author of this deed remained undiscovered, notwithstanding a large reward was offered.

On the 18th of February, Viscount Montague and the Bishop of Ely, who were appointed ambassadors to the pope, passed through London with their train. Their reception will be noticed hereafter. The reader may be reminded, that the next embassy sent from England to Rome was in the reign of James the Second; when, among other objects, the ambassador was to apply for a dispensation from the pope to allow Father Petre, the king's confessor, to hold an English bishopric, while the nation continued professedly Protestant!

The cruel scenes we have described are not without their parallel in later times. Dr. Chandler refers to the following account, from a letter written by Dr. Wilcox (afterward Bishop of Gloucester), who was chaplain to the British factory at Lisbon, and related the particulars of an *auto da fé*, or burning of heretics, which he had witnessed. His letter is dated January the 15th, 1706, and was addressed to Bishop Burnet. He says, "I saw the whole process, which was agreeable to what is published by Limborch and others. One was reprieved, which is very unusual. Heytor Dias and Maria Pinteyra were burned alive, and two others were first strangled. The execution was very cruel. The woman was alive in the flames half an hour, and the man above an hour. The king

happy age has received many a Thomas from that land (England). Holy priests and English nobles have been crowned (if it may be so said) with more than martyrdom, and entitled to a double crown." After noticing "the Jesuits who had lately bled like innocent lambs," &c., it proceeds, "Go forward in courage and virtue, most noble and glorious band of Englishmen; I envy you with a holy emulation, when I behold you designated with the glorious robes of martyrdom, and am compelled to exclaim, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.' Reader, would you desire to die like one of these martyrs for the pope, notoriously suffering with perjury in your mouth and a lie in your right hand? Would you not rather exclaim, with the patriarch of old, 'O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united.'"

and his brothers were seated at a window, so near as to be addressed a considerable time, in very moving terms, by the man as he was burning. But though the only favour he begged was a few more fagots, he was not able to obtain it. Those who are burned alive here are seated on a bench twelve feet high, fastened to a pole six feet higher than the fagots. The wind being a little fresh, the man's lower parts were perfectly wasted, and, as he turned himself, his ribs opened before he left speaking; the fire being recruited so as to keep him just in the same degree of heat. But all his entreaties could not procure him a larger allowance of wood to shorten his misery and despatch him." Reader, this heart-sickening scene occurred one hundred and fifty years after "the Days of Queen Mary!"

CHAPTER VI.

Burning of Tomkins, Hunter, Bishop Farrar, Rawlins, White, and others.—Monastic Institutions.—A.D. 1555.



Bonner burning Tomkins's hand. (See p. 108.)

ONE or two circumstances relative to the year 1554 should have been noticed earlier.

Towards the end of that year, Coverdale was set at liberty through the intercession of the King of Denmark, who had long and deservedly esteemed him. He was also related to the prime minister of that kingdom. To the first application on his behalf, the queen replied that Coverdale was not in prison for religion, but for debt! A claim on the part of the queen, respecting the revenues of his diocese of Exeter, had been raised as a pretext for keeping him in prison; but the Danish king renewed his application; and at length, though very unwillingly, his request was granted. Coverdale was liberated, and allowed to retire to the Continent; thus his valuable life was preserved.

There were many excellent persons at that time in London, who assisted the suffering professors of the Gospel, often sending to such as were in prison supplies of the articles they most needed, and aiding others in escaping or remaining

concealed. Several persons who lived in the country are also mentioned as having acted in the same manner; among them was Hopkins, the sheriff of Coventry, who, during this year, was confined in the Fleet prison for having sent a New Testament to a condemned felon! Being set at liberty, after some weeks' confinement, he escaped to Germany with his wife and family. Many pious females were also active in assisting the persecuted witnesses for the truth; in particular, a Lady Vane and a Mistress Wilkinson, whom we find often mentioned in the letters of the martyrs: Augustine Bernher, a Swiss, originally servant to Latimer, but afterward a faithful minister of Christ, was very serviceable to the poor prisoners. He travelled from place to place, visiting and helping them, and was a sort of guardian to the wives and fatherless children of such as suffered for the faith.

We will now resume the course of our narrative. On the 9th of February, 1555, Bonner issued a mandate, addressed to every man and woman in his diocese, ordering them to prepare against the approaching Easter,* and, by confession and penance, and receiving the sacrament, to make themselves fit to receive the absolution of Cardinal Pole, and to enjoy the benefits resulting from "the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation" with Rome, according to the willingness of the "holy father Pope Julius the Third" to pardon all their "blasphemy" and heresy. We have already noticed this reconciliation; of the pretended *benefits* resulting from it we shall see more as we proceed.

In the month of March, 1555, the fires of persecution were again lighted. We have already seen that some laymen had been condemned, for it was by no means the intention of the Romanists to confine their persecutions to the Protestant clergy. Accordingly, the next individual committed to the flames was THOMAS TOMKINS, a weaver by trade, residing in Shoreditch. This man was eminent for his piety; so much so, that, according to the simple manners of former times, when good housewives brought him their web, or the thread they had spun, to work up for them, he always required them to join with him in prayer. Nor was this a mere outside show of piety; his conduct was every way consistent. Such a man could not rest satisfied with the errors of Romanism; accordingly, he was noted, and committed to prison by Bonner, who repeatedly examined him during six months, which elapsed previous to his burning.

* The author of "Rome in the Nineteenth Century" says, "If every true-born Italian man, woman, and child, within the pope's dominions, does not confess and receive the sacrament at least once a year, *before Easter*, his name is posted up in his parish church. If he still refrain, he is exhorted, entreated, and otherwise tormented; and if he persists in his contumacy, *he is excommunicated*. This may appear a trifle to us, but it is none to an Italian; for it involves the loss of civil rights, and perhaps of liberty and property."

The treatment Tomkins experienced from Bonner showed the spirit of that persecutor. On one occasion the bishop plucked off a part of the sufferer's beard. Shortly afterward he was sent to Fulham, and set to make hay. Bonner came into the field, and seeing him hard at work, said, "I like thee now: thou labourest well; I trust thou wilt be a good Catholic." The poor weaver replied, "My lord, St. Paul saith, He that doth not labour is not worthy to eat." "Ah," exclaimed Bonner, "St. Paul is a great man with thee." After some other conversation, the bishop, wishing to turn the subject, found fault with the appearance of poor Tomkins's beard; doubtless, because it reminded him of his own conduct; and sending for a barber, ordered that it should be shaved.

Finding, after repeated trials, that the constancy of this good man could not be shaken by his arguments, Bonner thought he would try him with a foretaste of the death prepared for those who differed from the Church of Rome. One day, having several of his clergy about him, he sent for Tomkins, and, as Fox expresses it, "he fell from beating to burning." A large tapers stood upon the table: the bishop seized the weaver's fingers, and held his hand for a considerable time over the flame. Tomkins, observing Bonner's rage, thought his death was now at hand, and commended himself to God, saying, "O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." He afterward told a friend that, while his hand was burning, his mind was so supported that he felt no pain, but was enabled to stand firm without stirring till the sinews and veins shrunk, and the moisture spirted into the face of Harpsfield, who then entreated the bishop to forbear. This passed in the hall of Bonner's palace at Fulham.

When the Romanists had determined to burn the Protestants, Tomkins was the first layman who was made a sacrifice. On February the 8th, he was again brought before Bonner, and a writing was produced which the martyr had signed about a month before. It may be well to give this at length, as it shows the reasons for which he and many others suffered: "Thomas Tomkins, of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed, and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the *very body and blood* of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token or remembrance thereof, the *very body and blood* of Christ being only in heaven, and nowhere else."

For this opinion Tomkins was burned, and thousands more have suffered. In fact, the doctrine of transubstantiation has ever been made a shibboleth by which to try whether men are Romanists or not. Articles were then shown him, turning this confession into an accusation, that he did not believe that the bread and wine were made "really, truly, and in very

deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof, which was conceived of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world." He was required to declare the next morning what he would do; or, if he preferred it, he might come again that afternoon, and, as Bonner termed it, "have justice ministered to him!" On the following day Tomkins was brought up, and he admitted that he held the opinion respecting the sacrament stated in the accusation. The bishop then once more read a former confession of Tomkins, in which he stated, that although "the Church, called the Catholic Church, allowed the mass and sacrifice done therein as a wholesome, profitable, and godly thing, yet his belief hath long been that the mass was full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for the soul,* and so hath called it many times." In the afternoon of the same day he was, for the last time, brought before Bonner and his associates. Being earnestly exhorted by the Bishop of Bath to revoke his opinions, he replied, "My lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance, till of late years; but now I know the truth, and will continue therein unto death." He was then condemned, and delivered to the sheriff; but his execution was delayed to the 16th of March, on which day he was burned in Smithfield, at eight in the morning. He suffered with admirable patience and constancy.

Tomkins's view of the unscriptural nature of the mass was not adopted by all who had professed to be Protestants; some temporized by attending that ceremony, although they did not admit the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Thomas Sampson, formerly pastor of Allhallows, Bread-street, then an exile at Strasburg, admonished his former parishioners against this error, in a letter which he wrote to them. He said, "If they thought they could embrace both popery and the Gospel, they did deceive themselves; for they could not both hold the taste of Christ's death in their consciences, and also allow that mass, which was the defacer of Christ's death. They could not embrace the right use of the Lord's Supper, and also use and partake the horrible profanation of the same.

* In a little manual of devotion, entitled "*Daily Devotions, or the most profitable manner of hearing mass; very necessary for all Roman Catholics, for the better understanding thereof*," now regularly on sale by the Romish booksellers in London and Dublin, there are thirty-five engravings, showing the different postures assumed by the priest when performing mass, and pointing out how they are meant to set forth the circumstances of the death and sufferings of our Lord, from his entrance into the Garden of Gethsemane until his ascension. Prayers are added, farther explaining how these circumstances are alluded to. Let the reader bear this in mind, as it at once, and in a striking manner, shows that by the mass the Romapists mean not a simple commemoration of the death of our Lord, "who, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, forever sat down on the right hand of God," but an actual renewal of the sacrifice every day. These engravings are sufficiently well executed to show those who have not personally witnessed such a performance what Tomkins and others meant by "the superstition and idolatry of the mass." It also shows the manner in which the sacrifices of the heathens are imitated in the sacrifice of the mass.

They could not by faith apprehend free justification, and yet seek by their own righteousness and merits to be saved."

On the 19th of March, another martyr suffered at Brentwood, in Essex. He was an apprentice, named WILLIAM HUNTER, only nineteen years of age: the particulars recorded by Fox were related by his own brother. This youth was apprenticed to a silk weaver in Coleman-street, named Taylor. Having refused to receive the Romish communion at Easter, as ordered by Bonner, the lad was threatened that he should be brought before the bishop. His master fearing to get into trouble on his account, sent him home to his father's house at Brentwood.

After Hunter had been there about six weeks, he one day entered the chapel, and finding a Bible still remaining upon a desk, he read therein. A man named Atwell, a sumner (an inferior officer in the bishop's courts), entered, and finding him thus employed; said, "Why meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest? and canst thou expound the Scriptures?" The lad modestly answered, "Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, not being licensed; but, finding the Bible here, I read it for my own comfort." The old Romanist replied with the usual phrase, which we have heard repeated in the present times, "It was never merry world since the Bible came abroad in English." Their farther conversation is characteristic of those days: "*Hunter*. Say not so, Father Atwell: it is God's book, out of which every one that hath grace may learn to know what pleaseth God, and what is displeasing to him.—*Atwell*. Could we not tell formerly, as well as now, how God was to be served?—*Hunter*. Not so well as now, if we might have his blessed word among us still, as we have had; and I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible among us continually." Some other conversation followed. Atwell then told the lad he perceived he was one who disliked the queen's laws, and had heard he left London on that account; but that if he did not turn, he, as well as many other heretics, would "broil for their opinions." To which Hunter replied, "God give me grace that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatever may come of it." "Confess his name!" exclaimed old Atwell. "No, no, you will go the devil, all of you!"

The old sumner then hastened out of the chapel to an ale-house hard by, where he found one Wood, the Romish vicar of Southwold. Atwell told him that Hunter was reading the Bible in the chapel, upon which the priest went thither immediately, and inquired who gave him leave to read the Scriptures. They soon proceeded to the subject of transubstantiation, and, after some conversation relative to the sixth chapter of St. John, the vicar threatened Hunter that he

would complain of him. The lad, knowing the consequences, took a hasty leave of his father, and left the place.

A few days afterward, a neighbouring justice sent for the father, and ordered him to produce his son. "What, sir," said the parent, "would you have me seek my son, that he may be burned!" Upon this errand the poor father was obliged to depart, and rode about for two or three days, hoping to satisfy the justice without finding his son. The son, however, saw the father at a distance, and went to meet him. On learning the danger to which his parent was exposed, he insisted upon returning home: to which the old man very unwillingly consented.

They arrived at home in the evening; the constable immediately took William, and put him in the stocks till the morning, when the justice sent for him, and, calling for a Bible, inquired into his opinions respecting transubstantiation. The next day, William was sent to Bonner. That prelate at first spoke to him in a gentle manner, offering to excuse him from public penance if he would recant. Finding this unsuccessful, he ordered Hunter to be put in the stocks in his gatehouse, where he was confined for two days and nights, without any food, except a crust of brown bread and a cup of water.

He was then examined and sent to prison, with strict orders to the jailer to put as many irons upon him as he could bear. After a confinement of three quarters of a year, and repeated examinations, he was brought before the bishop once more, in the consistory at St. Paul's, upon the 9th of February, when his brother was present. His confession was then read; and, as Hunter had said that he believed he received Christ's body spiritually in the communion, Bonner inquired, "Dost thou mean that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?" The youth answered, "I mean not so; but when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I feed upon Christ spiritually, through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection, and not that the bread is his body, either spiritually or corporeally." Bonner then reverted to the scholastic jargon by which the Romanists attempted to explain transubstantiation. "Dost thou not think," said he, holding up his cap, "that in this cap thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that may not be the substance, but only the accidents" (or appearance)?

We have heard of fallacious reasonings, by which anything, however absurd, may be proved; and the logic usually taught in those days was of that description. But William was not one of those who were brought up in vain janglings; he simply replied, "If you can separate the accidents (or ap-

pearance) from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe." "Then," said the bishop, "thou wilt not believe that God can do anything above man's capacity?" "Yes," said William, "I must needs believe that, for daily experience proves it; but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy Supper." In going through these narratives, it is worthy of notice, that frequently the plain sense of uninstructed mechanics foiled the sophistries of the Romanists far better than the more accurate arguments of the learned, which usually were founded, in some degree, upon human reasonings.

The bishop closed the examination by saying, "I have always found thee at this point, and have no hope of reclaiming thee to the Catholic faith; thou wilt always continue a corrupt member." Then proceeding upon the Romish principle of cutting off such an individual, Bonner passed sentence upon him. Presently he called Hunter again, and offered, if he would recant, to give him forty pounds, and to set him up in trade, or to make him steward of his own house. The youth thanked the bishop for these offers; "but, my lord," added he, "if you cannot persuade my conscience by Scripture, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all worldly things but loss and dung in comparison with the love of Christ."

These particulars respecting Tomkins and Hunter show the very different methods in which Bonner proceeded, as he saw occasion. With the father in Christ, he knew his crafty persuasions could not prevail, and therefore gave a loose to the natural brutality of his temper. With the youth the case was different; and, acting with true Romish craft, the prelate changed his battery, "endeavouring to allure, through worldly lusts, him that was clean escaped from them who live in error." But our Lord can and will support his people under all trials and temptations, even as he did in the instances just related.

Bonner finding Hunter continued unmoved, said, "If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned forever!" The youth replied, "God judges righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly." On Saturday, March the 28th, Hunter was sent to Brentwood, and ordered for execution on the Tuesday following. His parents were allowed to see him while he was guarded at the Swan Inn; and, like true followers of Christ, they encouraged this youthful witness to the truth. The mother, in particular, said "she was happy to bear such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name sake." The scene which followed was affecting, and deserves notice. Then William said to his mother, "For my little pain which I shall suffer, Christ hath procured me a crown of joy; are you not glad of that, moth-

er!" She kneeled down, and implored God to strengthen her child to the end. Mr. Higbed, who was also about to suffer, and others who were present, rejoiced to behold these pious parents thus ready to resign their son in the cause of his Saviour.

Early on the Tuesday morning the sheriff ordered Hunter to be taken to the place of execution. As they led him, his father met them, and with tears said, "God be with thee, son William." The son replied, "God be with you, father; and be of good comfort; I trust we shall meet again, where we shall rejoice together." When they arrived at the town's end, where the stake was fixed, the fagots were not ready. While they waited, a pardon was offered if he would recant. "No," said William, "I will not recant, God willing." He was then fastened to the stake, and requested the people to pray for him so long as they saw him alive. "Pray for thee!" exclaimed Brown, the justice, who had been the cause of his apprehension; "pray for thee? I will no more pray for thee than I would pray for a dog!" "I pray God this may not be laid to your charge at the last day," was the reply of the patient youthful martyr.

A priest then came forward and offered him a popish book: Hunter said, "Away, thou false prophet. Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest you be partakers of their plagues." The priest uncharitably added, "Look, how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell!" A gentleman present exclaimed, "I pray God have mercy on his soul." The people added, Amen, and the fire was kindled. Hunter then threw his psalter into his brother's hands, who said, "William, think on the sufferings of Christ, and be not afraid." "I am not afraid," answered the martyr; adding, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit!" Thus this pious youth yielded up his life for the truth.

THOMAS HIGBED, a gentleman of Essex, residing at Horn-don-on-the-Hill, and THOMAS CAUSTON, also a gentleman of great respectability in the county, were burned the same day. They had both been noted for their steadfast profession of the truth, and were apprehended, and sent to Colchester, by order of Bonner. From their respectability, and the estimation in which they were held, the bishop feared lest the proceedings against them should excite a tumult, and proceeded to Colchester with some of his associates, hoping to bring them back "to the unity," as it is termed, "of mother church." These endeavours were in vain; so Bonner returned to London, carrying these gentlemen with him, and also some others, who had been apprehended for heresy.

When it was determined to proceed in this bloody course, these two gentlemen were brought before the bishops in the consistory at St. Paul's. This was on Sunday, the 17th of

February. They were, as usual, asked whether they would recant their errors, and ordered to appear again the next day. The articles against them are curious, but too long for insertion here; they set forth that these individuals had been regularly baptized* in the faith of the Christian Church, which their sponsors had promised, and they themselves, at their confirmation, had engaged that they would keep. That, according to this faith, the true and natural body and blood of Christ were in the sacrament of the altar. That they had no just cause or occasion to depart from this faith. That they knew many individuals (who were named) were accounted heretics, yet they had commended them, and maintained their opinions, and were become heretics and misbelievers. To these articles they replied, admitting the doctrines they held. Their sentence was deferred until the 9th of March, when they were again brought before Bonner at the consistory. They then delivered a confession of their faith, which, with much difficulty, they obtained permission to read before the people.

Higbed and Causton's Profession of Faith.

1. We believe and profess in baptism, to forsake the devil and his works, the pomps and vanities of the wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith.

3. We believe that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

4. We believe that there is contained in the Lord's Prayer all things (petitions) necessary both for body and soul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and to none other, saint or angel.

5. We believe there is a catholic Church, even the communion of saints.

* It is necessary to explain this. The Council of Trent confirmed the doctrine already received by the Church of Rome, that baptism was valid, although performed by a heretic, if conferred in the name of the Holy Trinity. But observe the effect of this doctrine: thereby every Protestant so baptized is exposed to the iron yoke of Romanism, if ever it has strength enough to claim him. The Council of Trent decreed, "If any one should say that those who have been baptized are free from all the precepts of the Holy Church, either written or delivered by tradition, so that they are not obliged to observe them, unless they choose to submit to them of their own accord, *let him be accursed*." Another canon refers to those who, having been baptized, refuse to be confirmed; and says, "If any one say they are not to be forced into the observance of a Christian life by any other punishment than that of keeping them from the sacraments till they repent, *let him be accursed*."

The creed of Pius the Fourth, to which the Romanists in England refer as their standard of doctrine at the present day, states that they receive all things declared by the sacred canons and holy councils, "*particularly by the holy Council of Trent*," &c.

Let English Protestants who have been baptized mark this, and let them ask the Romanists this simple question, How can you say that you would tolerate us, when you thus recognise and maintain doctrines by which it is declared that even we are obliged to observe the precepts of your church, and that we are, *by punishment, to be compelled to adopt what you term a Christian course of life?* Reader, mark this!

6. We believe that this Church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, "Father, forgive us our sins;" but through Christ and his merits she is freely forgiven.

7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our only Mediator.

8. We believe that this Church of Christ is, and hath been persecuted, according to the words of Christ.

9. We believe that the Church of Christ teacheth the Word of God truly and sincerely.

10. We believe that this Church of Christ suffereth all men to read the Scriptures.

11. We believe that the Church of Christ teacheth that God ought to be worshipped according to his Word, and not after the doctrine of men.

12. We believe that the Supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed; for Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it.

Now we find, by the Scriptures, that this holy Supper is sorely abused (by the Church of Rome).

1. Because it is only given in one kind, whereas Christ gave it in both.

2. It is made a private mass (the priest only receiving).

3. It is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead; whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross, *once* for all.

4. In that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment.

5. It is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are kept ignorant how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we are set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy, by his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seal and witness.

Our limits prevent us from giving the whole of this interesting and valuable document, and the numerous appropriate texts of Scripture by which every clause is supported. Bonner asked whether they would stand to their confession of faith, and their other answers: they replied in the affirmative, and he pronounced sentence against them.

This document shows that the sentiments they professed, and for which they were burned, were really and truly those received by British Protestants at the present day. Not the doctrines of any particular sect, but those which are received and professed equally by all who ground their faith upon the Word of God. For the assertions of the Romanists, by which these denominations are represented as differing upon essential points, are completely false. Causton and Higbed were then condemned, and sent to Newgate.

116 BURNING OF HIGBED, CAUSTON, AND OTHERS.

On Saturday, the 23d of March, they were led through the city, at four o'clock in the morning, and were delivered, at Aldgate, to the sheriff of Essex. Being then bound upon a cart, they were conveyed to Brentwood, and on the Wednesday following were burned. Higbed suffered at Horndon, and Causton at Raleigh.

With Tomkins and Hunter, as already mentioned, were condemned WILLIAM PIGGOT, a butcher, and STEPHEN KNIGHT, a barber. They were accused on the same articles as Tomkins; like him, they continued steadfast in the faith, and were burned on the 28th of March; Piggot at Braintree, and Knight at Malden. Some of the by-standers heard the following prayer offered by Knight when kneeling at the stake. It contains an admirable summary of Gospel truth:

"O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to blaspheme thy holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandments; thou seest, O Lord, that, although I might live in worldly wealth if I would worship a false god and honour thine enemy, I choose rather to suffer the torment of the body and the loss of this life; and have counted all things but vile that I might win thee, whose death is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I desire thee as the wounded deer desireth shelter. Send thy Holy Comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup among thy chosen, even so give me strength, O Lord, against this element, which to my sight is most terrible; so that to my mind it may, at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, be sweet and pleasant; that, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on an incorruptible. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake, my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering, with all my heart, and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God, my Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Amen."

On the 20th of March, JOHN LAWRENCE was burned at Col-

chester. He was condemned with Tomkins and his companions; but, having been a priest, he had to undergo the mummery of degradation. From long suffering and hard treatment, his legs were so sore and enfeebled, that the Romanists were obliged to carry him to the stake in a chair; they burned him sitting therein.

Essex had long been noted as deeply infected with heresy, and these numerous examples were doubtless intended to strike terror into the people, and to prevent them from harbouring those who fled from London, when persecuted for the truth. But the principles of the Gospel had sunk deep into the hearts of the people. While Lawrence was sitting in the chair, a number of young children came round the fire, repeating, "Lord, keep thy promise, and strengthen thy servant!" Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings God hath ordained praise; and, as Fox observes, "It is no small manifestation of the glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; and a cause for much commendation to their parents, who thus brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth."

On the 30th of March, BISHOP FARRAR was burned at Caermarthen. He had long been hateful to the Romanists, who ventured to trouble him with a long string of false and vexatious accusations, even during the reign of King Edward, after the death of the Duke of Somerset. On the accession of Queen Mary, his troubles were renewed; but he was then accused on matters of faith, and examined before Gardiner on the 4th of February, with Rogers, Hooper, and others, as already related. He was examined, or rather, as the martyrologists express, *baited* by this prelate in a most unchristian manner; but his condemnation was deferred, and on the 14th of February he was sent down to Wales. On the 26th he was brought before the Romish bishop of St. David's, and required to say whether he believed the marriage of priests to be lawful by the laws of God and of the Holy Church. On the 7th of March, he was offered a pardon on the following conditions: 1st, that he would renounce matrimony; 2d, grant the real presence; 3d, admit that the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; 4th, allow that general councils, lawfully assembled, never did, nor can err (*reader, mark this*); 5th, confess that men are not justified before God by faith only, but that hope and charity are also necessary for justification; and, 6th, allow that the Catholic Church alone hath authority to expound the Scriptures, and to define (or settle) controversies of religion, and to ordain things pertaining to public discipline; and that she is visible, and like a city set upon a mountain, for all men to understand.

In these articles we have a plain statement of the tenets of Romanism, for denying which Bishop Farrar was burned.

Are any of these doctrines now disavowed by that Church? Romanists do not hesitate to declare that she is unchanged. In what respect is that religion altered?

The accounts given of Bishop Farrar are less minute than those of most who suffered in this reign. We learn that on the 13th of March he was finally brought before the Romish possessor of his diocese and condemned, notwithstanding he appealed to Cardinal Pole. He was then committed to the custody of the sheriff, and on Saturday, March 30th, was burned on the south side of the Cross, in the market-place of Caermarthen. Fox relates an affecting proof of the constancy with which this prelate suffered. A young man named Jones, the son of a Welsh knight, came to Bishop Farrar a few days before he suffered, and lamented the painfulness of the death prepared for him. The bishop, in faith, relying upon the extraordinary support vouchsafed to those who were thus publicly called to seal their testimony with their blood, told the youth to mark him while suffering that painful death, and if he saw him once stir, then to give no credit to the doctrines he had preached. Fox adds, "And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood, that he never moved, but even as he stood, holding up his stumps, so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell, with a staff, dashed him upon the head, and struck him down."

A more particular account is given of a poor fisherman named RAWLINS WHITE, who was burned at Cardiff about the same time. He was generally respected by his neighbours for the integrity of his conduct, and formerly had been much attached to Romish superstitions. During the reign of King Edward, he was brought to the knowledge of the truth, and earnestly sought to profit therein. Being unable to read, he sent his son to school, and employed him every evening in reading the Scriptures or some pious work. Having an extraordinary memory, and deeply thirsting for the water of life, this poor fisherman stored up the truths he heard; and, speaking from his own experience, his simple way of stating the truths of the Gospel was rendered the means of the conversion of many souls.

The Romish persecutors would not long suffer such a character to remain unmolested. His friends advised him to flee; but, remembering that he stood as an example to many, he resolved to continue his course. He was taken before the Bishop of Landaff, and, after several examinations, was committed to Cardiff Castle, where he was confined a whole year. He had opportunities to escape, but as people were allowed to come and see him, which was not an unusual practice before the burnings commenced, he felt that he was at the post of duty assigned to him, and dared not forsake it. The hour

of fiery trial at length came ; Rawlins was again brought before the bishop, who exhorted him at great length to turn to the Church. Unable to argue with his lordship, White simply replied, " My lord, I thank' God I am a Christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the Word of God ; and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the Word of God, as a Christian man ought to be."

The bishop said that they must condemn him, but that they would first pray to God for his conversion. " Ah, my lord," said Rawlins, " now you act well, and like a godly bishop ; Christ said, ' Where two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them.' If your request be agreeable to his will, and ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you, and I will pray also. I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire." They then prayed ; and Rawlins, turning into a pew, knelt down by himself. The bishop again asked whether he would recant. " No, my lord," said he ; " Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue : certainly, if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them ; but you honour a false god, and pray not as ye should pray, and therefore God hath not granted your desire. But I am one poor, simple man, as you see ; God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his cause."

The bishop was now going to read the sentence, when some of the chaplains suggested to try the effect of saying mass. They did so, but this mummary also failed. Rawlins called to the people, and entreated that some one would bear witness that he did not bow to that idol, meaning the wafer, which the priest then held above his head. The poor fisherman was then condemned, and soon afterward was ordered for execution.

As he was led to the stake, he saw his wife and children stand weeping. The sight of those who were near and dear to him moved him. " Ah, flesh !" exclaimed he, smiting his breast, " wouldst thou hinder me—wouldst thou fain prevail ? By God's grace, thou shalt not have the victory." While the smith was fastening him to the stake, he said, " I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast, for it may be the flesh will strive mightily ; but, O God, of thy great mercy, give me strength and patience." He also spoke to a person named Dane, who related these particulars, saying that he felt a great struggle between the flesh and the spirit, and entreated, if he began to waver, he would hold up his finger, " and then," said he, " I trust I shall remember myself."

With much cheerfulness he assisted in disposing the fagots and straw. A priest stood upon a stage to address the assembled crowd. It was market-day ; Rawlins settled him-

self, and attended to the discourse, till the priest inveighed against all who opposed the Romish doctrine of the real presence. The martyr then rebuked him, saying, "Did not Christ say, Do this *in remembrance* of me!" The aptness of the quotation silenced the priest, and orders were given to kindle the fire. This was done, and Rawlins bathed his hands in the flame till they were consumed; when, his legs also being burned away, his body fell over the chain into the fire. His sufferings were long and severe; but he bore them patiently, exclaiming, with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit!" Fox has minutely recorded several particulars respecting this faithful martyr; they were communicated to him by the person already mentioned, who, as well as several others, took him by the hand after he was fastened to the stake. The narrator held him by the hand till the flames rose, and forced him to depart. The priest was very angry on seeing this, and said, "It was not lawful to take him by the hand, as he was a heretic, and condemned by the Church."

After the burning of Bishop Farrar, the executions ceased for a few weeks. The cause is not stated; it might arise from the great sensation excited throughout the kingdom by these bloody scenes; or, from its being Easter, the persecutors might suspend their proceedings, lest they should interfere with the idolatrous ceremonies practised at that period in the Romish Church. We may, therefore, here notice a petition, drawn up and printed by the exiles, which they sent over about this time. It was addressed to the queen. They cautioned her against being carried away by a blind and furious zeal to persecute the Church of Christ, and reminded her of the manner in which Cranmer had preserved her life during her father's reign. They quoted many passages from the writings of Gardiner and his associates, in which the Romish prelates had spoken in the strongest terms against the supremacy of the pope and the lawfulness of her mother's marriage; thus showing that they were men who sought only to promote their own interests. They also reminded her that, during the reign of Edward, none of the Romanists had suffered the treatment now experienced by the Protestants. They then addressed the nobility, gentry, and the people in general, setting forth the dangers to which the nation was now exposed, both in a spiritual and temporal point of view; exhorting them to repent, and humble themselves for the sins which had brought these sore afflictions upon the nation; and, lastly, urged them to intercede with the queen, that she might stop these deeds of cruelty, or at least allow her Protestant subjects to leave the kingdom.*

* Strype has preserved a prayer which was used by the congregations that assembled in this time of persecution. The following extract will show that they did

Nor was the queen free from remorse at this period; on the 28th of March, she sent for the Marquis of Winchester, the lord-treasurer, and some other privy counsellors, and spoke to them concerning the inward grief and trouble whereby she was affected. But let not the reader suppose it was remorse for her breach of promise to her Protestant subjects; for the blood she had shed, or the cruelties inflicted by her orders upon these holy and exemplary characters—she was filled with remorse because the crown still possessed some of the abbey lands! She said she considered that the Church had been unlawfully deprived of these possessions during a time of schism; and therefore she desired to resign them, to be disposed of as might seem best to the most holy lord the pope, or his legate. She said that she considered her soul endangered by retaining these lands, and that she was more concerned for the salvation of her soul than for ten kingdoms. Alas! that her conscientious scruples were not better placed. They had probably been heightened by a recent bull of the pope; in which he excommunicated all persons, without exception, who retained any ecclesiastical property or abbey lands in their possession; and all princes, and others in authority, who did not promote the execution of this decree.

"Herein," as Fox says, "is to be observed another *Catholic fetch*. For where this kind of Catholics, by rigour and force, overmaster, they spare for no cost, but lay on load enough. This will appear, and doth appear, in burning the poor and patient Christian, whom they see to be destitute of power and strength to resist them, and make no end of burning and persecuting; but where they find themselves overmatched, or fear to receive a foil in presuming too far; *there they keep in, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls*, till they spy their time convenient for their purpose." He then shows that this was the case in the instance just mentioned: for, although the pope's commands were peremptory, the Romish prelates in England, being aware that they could not venture to set up *these nests* again, not only took no *open* proceedings strictly to enforce the bull, but even stated to the people that it was not meant to apply to England, although the terms used by the pope were general, and without any exception

not forget the exiles, who, as just mentioned, were mindful of them: "We humbly beseech Thee to stretch forth thy mighty arm for the protection and defence of all those that are exiled for the testimony of thy truth, because they would not bend their backs, and incline their necks under the yoke of antichrist, and be polluted with the execrable idolatries and blasphemous superstitions of the ungodly: that it would please Thee not only to feed them in strange countries, but also to prepare a resting-place for them, as thou hast done from time to time for thy elect in all ages, that they may unite themselves together in the sincere ministration of thy holy word and sacraments, to their singular edification; and in due time restore them home again into their land, to celebrate thy praises, promote thy Gospel, and edify thy desolate congregation."

whatever. And we may ask, Has this bull ever been annulled? Does it not still continue unrecalled, although allowed to sleep? Many writers have declared this to be the case, and that full particulars of the abbey lands have been preserved, so that they can be produced if ever they should be called for.

We trust such an attempt will never be made in our land, although the eagerness with which monastic institutions are promoted in these kingdoms shows us that Romanism still looks upon them as an important part of her system.

In addressing Protestants, who are, or ought to be, conversant with the Scriptures, it is unnecessary to say that they nowhere command a life of celibacy; but the Church of Rome has ever sought to strengthen its power and influence thereby. That it does so at the present day, even in our own land, is plain to the most superficial observer; for it is scarcely possible not to have seen some of the many inflated descriptions published by the Romanists, of the exhibitions on the occasion of nuns taking the veil, and their repeated panegyrics upon the state of monastic seclusion. It is not intended to enter into details* respecting monasticism, in *all its horrors and dreadful consequences*; but a few words may be added upon *one* point, namely, the actual *slavery* of the system.

Erasmus, in his Dialogues, published at the commencement of the Reformation, referred to the monastic system, as having renewed the slavery which had been abolished by Christianity. Speaking of monastic establishments, he says, † "Nothing there is lawful but what is commanded; whatever may accrue to the professed, becomes the property of the community; if you stir a foot, you are brought back, as if flying after murdering your father and mother." This system was confirmed by the Council of Trent, and is acted upon in the *strictest manner* at the present day in popish countries. To those who enter voluntarily upon the state, no change of opinion is permitted; even those who have by force or fraud been compelled or induced to enter the profession, are not allowed to quit it, unless they have applied for leave to do so, within five years of the time of their entering thereon. Mark the ingenuity by which this rule is strengthened. It is obvious that the same force or fraud which at first existed,

* A recent author (Blanco White), in his "Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism," has entered very fully into this question; the reader will do well to refer to his work. Referring to the advice of St. Paul, he says, "The Church of Rome, on the contrary, allows boys and girls of sixteen to bind themselves with perpetual vows: the latter are confined in prisons, because their frailties could not be concealed; the former are let loose upon the people, trusting that a superstitious reverence will close the eyes or seal up the lips of men on their misconduct." At Rome there is a convent, called the *Sepolte Vivo*, or Living Sepulchre, where offending nuns are immured for life. What may pass within its walls can never be known; none of its inmates are ever allowed to quit it. Once a year they may have a short interview with their parents, but only in the presence of the abbess!

† See his *Virgo Misogamus*.

would, in general, be able to prevent the disclosure of the feelings of these unhappy victims during five years; and after that period, all appeal is unavailing in those countries. Some few might escape from their prison-house during that interval, and when they had thus regained liberty, avail themselves of the privilege—but no—if they thus escape, they are thereby absolutely debarred from pleading their privilege; they are compelled to return to their convents, and punished as apostates.

Many instances are recorded as having occurred of late years, which show that this system is rigidly acted upon wherever Romanism prevails. May it never again be supported by authority in our land!*

This subject may be closed with the description given by Blanco White of the results of monasticism in his own family. "I saw my eldest sister, at the age of two-and-twenty, slowly sink into the grave, within the walls of a convent; whereas, had she not been a slave to that Church, which has been a curse to me, air, amusement, and exercise might have saved her. I saw her on her deathbed; I obtained that melancholy sight in my capacity of priest; and at her own request, I heard her last confession. I saw that dear sister no more; but another was left to me. To her I looked up as a companion for life. But she had a heart open to every noble impression; and such, among Catholics, are apt to be misled from the path of practical usefulness into the wilderness of visionary perfection. At the age of twenty, she left an infirm mother to the care of servants and strangers, and shut herself up in a convent, where she was not allowed to see even the nearest relatives. With a delicate frame, requiring every indulgence to support it in health, she embraced a rule which denied her the comforts of the lowest class of

* The following is from the work of Blanco White, just quoted. "The great poet, who boasted 'that slaves cannot live in England,' forgot that superstition may be the most sacred laws of freedom: SLAVES DO LIVE IN ENGLAND, and, I fear, multiply daily, by the same arts which fill the convents abroad. In vain does the law of the land stretch a friendly hand to the repentant victim; the unhappy slave may be dying to break her fetters; yet death would be preferable to the shame and reproach that await her among relatives and friends. It will not avail her to keep the vow which dooms her to live single; she has renounced her will, and made herself a passive mass of clay in the hands of a superior. Perhaps she has promised to perform austerities which cannot be performed out of the convent; never to taste meat, even if her life were to depend on the use of substantial food; to wear no linen; to go unshod and unshod for life; all these, and many other hardships, make part of the various rules which Rome has confirmed with her sanction. Bitter, harassing remorse seizes the wavering mind of a recluse, and even a yielding thought towards liberty assumes the character of sacrilege. Nothing short of rebellion against the Church that has burned the mark of slavery into her soul can liberate an English nun. Whereto could she turn her eyes? Her own parents would disown her, her friends would shrink from her, as if her breath wafted leprosy. She would be haunted by priests and their zealous emissaries; and, like her sister victims of superstition in India, be made to die of a broken heart, if she refuse to return to the burning pile from which she had fled!"

Can such a system find advocates among those friends of humanity who so deeply feel for the unhappy slaves in our colonies?

society. A coarse woollen frock fretted her skin ; her feet had no covering but that of shoes, open at the toes, that they might be exposed to the cold of a brick floor ; a couch of bare planks was her bed, and an unfurnished cell her dwelling. Disease soon filled her conscience with fears, and I had often to endure the torture of witnessing her agonies at the confessional (alas ! the writer was then an infidel, and unable to pour into her wounded mind the balm of the Gospel). I left her, when I quitted Spain, dying, much too slowly for her only chance of relief. I wept bitterly for her loss, two years after, yet I could not be so cruel as to wish her alive."

Surely, it is unnecessary to add farther remarks upon the mental and bodily slavery of the system. As already said, it is not intended to enter upon the *darker* view of the subject.* Volumes might be filled with horrid, yet authenticated particulars, which the limits of this work and the nature of the details forbid us from entering upon. Referring only to the self-tormenting and *slavish* view of the system already noticed, may we not exclaim, in the words of the prophet, "Who hath required this at your hand?"

Pope Julius III. did not live to hear of the effects produced upon Queen Mary by his decree before mentioned. He died March the 20th, 1555, and stands recorded in history as one of the vilest among the many vile characters that disgraced the papacy. Let the memorable observation of Guicciardini (a Romish historian), while speaking of the popes of that century, be remembered : "In those days, he was esteemed a good pope who did not exceed in wickedness the worst of men."

The reader may be spared the details of his wicked conduct : one anecdote of his blasphemy, related by several historians, will be enough to mark the individual who was termed by Queen Mary her "most holy lord the pope," and to whose direction, in spiritual matters, this kingdom was subjugated. The still viler parts of his character we will not notice ; this incident will sufficiently show the difference between him and the holy men whose sufferings we have just mentioned. Pope Julius was addicted to the pleasures of the table, and especially delighted in the flesh of peacocks ; one day, at dinner, he pointed to a peacock upon the table, and ordered it to be brought at supper-time. When he sat down to that meal, he found it was not there ; and, although other peacocks were brought, he uttered a torrent of blasphemies and execrations. A cardinal attempted to soothe him, saying, "Let not your holiness be so much troubled for

* If the reader wishes to investigate this part of the subject, he may refer to the works of Bale, Jewel, Fox, Burnet, Strype, and many others. Also to the "History of Popery," 2 vols. ; "The Protestant," lately published at Glasgow ; "Gavin's Master Key ;" and, in fact, to the writings of almost every author who has written upon Romanism, or has visited Roman Catholic countries.

so small a matter." "What," said the pope, "if God was so angry for an apple that he cast our first parents out of paradise, why may not I, being his vicar, be angry for a peacock, seeing it is a greater matter than an apple?"

Funeral ceremonies were ordered to be performed in all churches for this pope, as is usual in Romish countries, and masses were said for the repose of his soul. A poor woman entered St. Magnus Church, near London Bridge, and inquired what the ceremonies meant. A person told her that they were for the pope, and that she must pray for him. "Nay," said she, "if he could forgive us our sins he must be clean himself, therefore I need not pray for him." Some zealous Romanists, hearing this, took her to the cage on London Bridge; and she was kept there for some time, as a warning to the citizens of London not to speak irreverently even of a dead pope!

CHAPTER VII.

Sufferings of Bradford and others.—Reception of the English Ambassadors by the Pope.—Romish Books.—A.D. 1555.



The children of Watts desiring to be burned with their father. P. 134.

AFTER Easter, 1555, the burning of the Protestants was resumed. On the 24th of April, GEORGE MARSH, formerly curate to Saunders the martyr, was burned at Chester. When he was first apprehended, and carried before the Earl of Derby, the Romanists referred to his having been ordained by the Protestant bishops, and asked if he had ministered with a good conscience. On his replying in the affirmative, a popish priest who stood by exclaimed that "the last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised!" Marsh was brought several times before the Romish examiners, and upbraided as being ignorant, stubborn, and conceited; to this he meekly replied, that he willingly acknowledged to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even him that was crucified; that his faith was grounded upon God's word only, and was such as he doubted not pleased God, and as he should be able to stand in at the last day; that he did not say or do anything either of stubbornness, self-wilfulness, vainglory,

or any worldly purpose, but with a good conscience, and in the fear of God. He was afterward sent to Lancaster, and there placed at the bar at the sessions, among thieves, and with irons on his feet. He says, "They threatened and rebuked me for my preaching to the people out of the prison, and for reading and praying so loud that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I and my prison-fellow, Warburton, every day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany, every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more; and also read every day chapters in the Bible, commonly towards night; and we read them with so high and loud a voice that the people in the streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely, in the evenings, come and sit down under the windows and hear us read; wherewith others, being offended, complained."

Oh that we were duly sensible of the privileges we enjoy! We now can read the Scriptures without being committed to prison or burned at the stake for so doing; and we can hear the Gospel preached without sitting at a prison window to listen.

At last the Bishop of Chester came to Lancaster, and confirmed the newly-revived idolatrous proceedings. He proceeded to examine Marsh, who there, and afterward at Chester, whither he was sent, hesitated not to declare the doctrines of the truth, which he held. He stated his readiness to be convinced, if suitable arguments could be brought from the Word of God; but the bishop referred to the Romish doctrine that "it is not right to dispute with heretics," and proceeded to condemn him; adding, after he had read the sentence, "Now will I no more pray for thee than I will for a dog." Marsh was then delivered to the sheriffs, and shut up in a dungeon in the city wall. There were a few at Chester who loved the martyr for the Gospel's sake, and they would in the evening resort to the dungeon; sometimes they threw money to him through a small hole in the wall, and called to him, asking him how he did. He answered them most cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God that he appointed him, of his mercy, to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same; beseeching for grace not to faint under the cross, but that he might be enabled patiently to bear the same, to the glory and comfort of the Church of Christ. When carried to the place of execution, his Christian spirit was so manifest, that the spectators exclaimed, "This man goeth not to his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die."

The circumstances attending his burning were very similar to those related of the martyrs who suffered before him. Like them, he was prevented from exhorting the people to

faith in Christ, and like them, he endured aggravated torments from the want of sufficient fuel. One circumstance was new. Above his head was placed a barrel of pitch and tar, probably with the intention that its contents should drop upon him, and add to his sufferings! A pardon was offered to him at the stake if he would recant; but he refused it, saying it was intended to pluck him from God. After he had for a long time endured the fire, and the by-standers thought he was dead, he suddenly extended his arms, saying, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me!" and so yielded his spirit into the hands of his Maker.

Many people who witnessed his patient continuance to the end, said that he was a martyr, and died like a godly man; upon which the Romish bishop of Chester preached a sermon, declaring that Marsh was a heretic, and burned like a heretic in this world, and that he was then a firebrand in hell! This wretched prelate died soon afterward, and the circumstances which attended his decease showed that he was an immoral character.

WILLIAM FLOWER was burned the same day at Westminster. He had been a monk in the abbey at Ely. When that establishment was dissolved, he became a secular priest, and engaged in the education of children in different places. On Easter Day, April the 14th, he entered the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, while the priest was celebrating mass. Flower's anger was excited on beholding this; and drawing forth a wood-knife, he struck the priest, and wounded him severely, so that the consecrated bread, and the wine in the chalice, were sprinkled with his blood. He was immediately seized and carried to prison; and the church being considered as polluted by this deed, the people went to receive the sacrament elsewhere. Had he been punished only for this crime, he would not have been noticed in these pages; but the Romanists proceeded against him as a heretic, for his crime evidently showed that he did not believe in the Romish doctrines respecting the sacrament; and a paper was found under his clothes, on which he had written in Latin, "Fear God—flee from idolatry." Flower, therefore, was sent to Bishop Bonner, and accused of heresy; for which he was condemned to be burned, his hand being first cut off for having wounded the priest. This action caused much grief to the professors of religion; and although Flower at first justified what he had done, he afterward confessed it was wrong; and Strype records, on the authority of a contemporary, that he expressed to Bonner his desire that his hand might be cut off according to law. It was done at the place of execution in St. Margaret's churchyard, and the fire was then kindled. He suffered with constancy and piety, and exclaimed repeatedly, "O Son of God, have mercy upon me!"

"O Son of God, receive my soul!" We have again to notice the cruel manner in which he was put to death; the fire being insufficient to burn him as he stood, the executioners struck him down, and the lower part of his body was consumed, while the upper part lay out of the fire. The by-standers could perceive his tongue still moving, although he was unable to speak.

A short pause in these executions now again took place, but the Romanists were busy in apprehending persons suspected of heresy. To forward this work, a proclamation had been sent forth on the 25th of March, addressed to the justices of the peace in every county, directing them to look to their respective districts, and ordering them to encourage the Romish preachers to proceed against all such as refused to "conform themselves." Those who were obstinate, particularly preachers or teachers of heresy, were to be committed to prison. The justices were also commanded "to have in every parish some one or more *honest* men, ~~SECRETLY~~ instructed to give information (privately, of course) respecting the inhabitants among, nigh, or about them." They were also required to search for "idle men, vagabonds, and such as are probably suspected;" this was evidently aimed at those who went from place to place, privately confirming their brethren in the faith, holding religious meetings, and dispersing small books.

These secret measures bore such close affinity to the proceedings of the Inquisition, that it was plain they emanated from Spanish suggestions. They were strictly executed, and gave a correct intimation of the times that followed. Such measures, however, were too contrary to the temper of Englishmen to be submitted to without reluctance, except by the most bigoted of the Romanists. Even Bonner himself appeared to grow weary of his bloody office, and sent back some persons whom the sheriffs and justices apprehended under the recent proclamation. But he did not long continue this course. On the 24th of May, a letter, which is copied by Burnet from the bishop's own register, was addressed to him in the joint names of Philip and Mary, complaining that they heard, with surprise, that when the justices had sent up persons, agreeably to their instructions, "they were suffered to continue in their errors." The king and queen thought this "very strange," and "admonished him to have such regard henceforth to the office of a *good pastor and bishop*," that such offenders, in future, should be proceeded against, so that through his means "God's glory might be better advanced." Awful, indeed, is it, that men should thus deceive themselves! Burnet conjectures that Bonner, feeling the odium he incurred, procured this letter as an authority for his proceedings. Whether it was the case or not, the injunc-

tions were quite congenial to his disposition, and he proceeded quickly to make up for the pause which had taken place. Another reason has been assigned: Queen Mary had for some time expected the birth of a child. She was exceedingly anxious for this event; and as it did not occur when looked for, she had recourse to these renewed cruelties, considering them as acceptable to God, and likely to obtain his favour for her safe deliverance! What can we think of a female who, in momentary expectation of such a trying hour, could sanction and press forward these atrocities! But it pleased God, in his mercy to this land, that she, who made many women childless, should never know the happiness of a mother's love. Surely we cannot but rejoice that such a stock should remain unfruitful. The disappointment, however, soured her temper, and she raged anew against all who were inclined to favour the Gospel. Gardiner sought to avail himself of this disposition for procuring the death of the Princess Elizabeth; but Philip's policy again interposed, and saved her life.

To return to the martyrs who suffered at this time. On the 30th of May, JOHN CARDMAKER, prebendary of Wells, and JOHN WARNE, an upholsterer, of Walbrook, were burned in Smithfield. Cardmaker had been a Franciscan friar, but was brought to the knowledge of the truth. In King Edward's reign he was a reader or lecturer at St. Paul's; and it is related that his popish auditors were so much annoyed at his doctrines, that they used to cut his gown while preaching. At that time they could not proceed farther against him; but on the accession of Queen Mary he was not forgotten. Like many others, he was committed to prison, and kept there, under various pretexts, until the Romish prelates obtained full power to burn and destroy; and he was among the first who were brought before Gardiner, but was respited for a time. The cause of this delay does not clearly appear. The Romanists, however, reported that he was about to recant; perhaps they did so, hoping to induce others to depart from the truth.

Finding this expectation was not realized, Cardmaker was brought before Bonner. The articles against him were, that he had been a friar; that he had married a wife; and that he did not believe the corporeal or actual presence of Christ in the bread and wine used at the sacrament. In his answers, he admitted these accusations, and was condemned.

Warne was accused of believing that the substance of the bread was not changed by the words of consecration pronounced by the priest; and of having said that the faith of the Romish Church "was naught against God's truth and the Scripture." Nor was this all: some person had shaved the rough water-spaniel, like a priest's crown, and he

had *laughed at it*, though it was admitted he had not done it himself, and was ignorant by whom it had been done. He also refused to hear mass, to confess to a priest, or to receive the sacrament. It was farther alleged against him, that he had been formerly condemned under the law of the Six Articles, at the time when Anne Askew was committed to the flames. These accusations Warne did not wish to deny, and he was burned in Smithfield, with Cardmaker. The sheriffs took the latter aside, and conversed with him for a long time, so that many of the people began to fear that the report which had been circulated of his intention to recant was true. Their apprehensions were not realized. The martyr left the sheriffs; and after kneeling down and praying, he rose and went to the stake, to which Warne had been for some time fastened; he then took his fellow-sufferer by the hand, and submitted to be bound also. The people beholding this, gave a great shout, and exclaimed, "God be praised; the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker; the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit;" and thus they speedily joined the noble army of martyrs.

A few days before Cardmaker was burned, the council sent one of their spies to converse with him respecting the mass. Cardmaker simply repeated the scriptural account of the Lord's Supper, and, to silence him, inquired whether the sacrament had a beginning or not; the promoter, as he was called, admitted this to be the case. "Then," replied the martyr, "it cannot be God, for He hath neither beginning nor ending."

Bonner, having thus established his jurisdiction over the living, proceeded to show that the dead were not exempt from his authority. At the end of April, three men were executed for the robbery of some Spaniards. Three days afterward, the body of one of them was cut down, and burned, under the gallows, as the remains of a heretic. At the place of execution he had entreated the people to pray for him, and declared that "he trusted not in any popish trumpery for salvation," using the petition in the Litany of Henry the Eighth, "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and contempt of thy word and commandments, good Lord, deliver us." Many people present seeming to approve his expressions, the Romish clergy were much troubled; and Gardiner and others of the council immediately ordered Bonner to inquire into this case of a felon, who had "professed, at the time of his death, certain heretical and erroneous opinions." A solemn proceeding was instituted against the malefactor; and his friends were cited to appear in his behalf, if they chose so to do.* They wisely left the dead body to its fate:

* In this document are some striking exemplifications of the "great swelling words

it was accordingly condemned for heresy; and, being delivered over to the sheriff of Middlesex for execution, it was committed to the flames, with much ceremony, on the 4th of June!

We may contemplate such proceedings with pity; but others soon occurred, which excite feelings more indignant. Several other individuals had been condemned for heresy, and were sent into Essex to be executed.

JOHN SIMPSON and JOHN ARDELEY, husbandmen, of Great Wigborough, in Essex, were apprehended by the justices, under the proclamation lately noticed. They were accused of not believing that they "were bound, under pain of the damnation of their souls, to give full faith and credence to the Catholic and universal Church, and to the religion of the same;" and that "the faith and religion believed by the Church of Rome, &c., was the very true faith and religion which all true Christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep." As usual, the never-failing accusation of not believing the doctrine of transubstantiation was urged against them. The answers of these simple husbandmen are worthy of notice. They acknowledged the true universal Church of Christ spoken of in Scripture, but as to the Churches of Rome, and of other foreign parts, they said they had nothing to do with them; and as to that maintained in England, they said, "If it were ruled by the word of life, it would not go about to condemn us and others of this heresy."

When brought up again in the afternoon, they witnessed a good confession before Bonner, who at length concluded by angrily exclaiming, "Have them away." This took place in the consistory at St. Paul's, a number of persons being present. Hearing these words, they hastened to depart, that they might see the prisoners on the way to Newgate; and a crowd being assembled round the door, much noise and tumult arose. The guilty consciences of Bonner and his clergy were quickly alarmed. They thought some violence was intended against themselves; and, starting from their seats, rushed to the private door leading to the bishop's house, where they struggled with each other who should first escape. But no harm was intended towards these miserable instruments of persecution.

On the 10th of June, these two martyrs were burned; Simpson at Rocheford, and Ardeley at Raleigh. They both suffered with constancy and patience. When before their judges, they were accused of stubbornness, and of wishing to suffer through vainglory. They denied that such was

of vanity" so frequently used by the Church of Rome. After stating that the malefactor ought to have died in the unity of the Catholic Church, it sets forth, that Bonner "dared not pass over in silence, nor wink at this heinous act, lest, by our negligence and slackness, the blood of them (the by-standers) might be required at our hands at the most terrible day of judgment," &c., &c.

their desire, stating their willingness to forfeit all their property, and live quietly, if they might be allowed the free exercise of their consciences, and not be constrained to attend upon the popish idolatries. This, of course, was not granted; and we call the reader's attention to the case of these poor husbandmen, as a specimen of the liberty of conscience and toleration allowed in England in "the Days of Queen Mary."

Several others were burned in Essex at this time; and, by order of the council, some of the nobility and gentry were present. THOMAS HAWKES suffered at Coggeshall, on the 10th of June. He was a gentleman of property and family, brought up at court. After the decease of King Edward, he retired to his own home, and desired to live quietly, but he was "a marked man." It was noticed that his infant child had remained unbaptized for three weeks; and upon refusing to allow the priests to perform their usual ceremonies, he was carried before the Earl of Oxford, in whose employ he had formerly been. The earl, doubtless afraid of offending against the proclamation, which especially commanded all in authority to see to their own families, sent him to Bonner, who said, "There is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant ye."

The usual course was pursued, and he was condemned in the month of February; but his execution was respited till June, when the persecution raged with fresh violence. Shortly before his death, some of his friends, expecting they should be called to bear a similar testimony to the truth, requested that, if the pain of burning were tolerable, so that it could be endured with patience, he would give them a sign by lifting up his hands towards heaven.

The trying hour arrived, the martyr was fastened to the stake, and the fire was kindled. His friends anxiously watched for the appointed sign. A long time passed, his skin was shrivelled up by the flames, and his speech taken away, so that all thought he was gone, when suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, he raised up his hands, "burning with a light fire, and, with great rejoicing, as it seemed," struck them together three times. At this sign of his steadfastness in the faith, the people shouted with joy, especially his friends. The martyr then sunk down and expired.

THOMAS WATTS suffered in like manner, at Chelmsford. He was a draper, at Billericay; and, seeing the troublous times which drew near, he set his house and family in order, disposing of his stock in trade. A considerable part he gave to the poor, thinking it far better to do so, rather than leave it a prey for the persecutors. On the 26th of April, he was apprehended and carried before the justices, being accused for not coming to church. Lord Rich charged him with being one of those who would not hear mass, but resorted to con-

venticles in corners. Justice Brown inquired who had taught him this religion. In King Edward's days, this justice had been forward in professing the Gospel; but, like Demas, he forsook it, having loved the present world. Watts replied, "I learned it of you, sir, and of none more than you; for in King Edward's days you spoke against the religion now used, no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, wishing that none should believe therein, but that our belief should be only in Christ." Of course the justices agreed to condemn these principles, and sent him to Bonner.

He went through the usual course of private examinations, and was speedily produced in public to be condemned. The articles alleged against him show that Bonner had tried him on various points, including, as usual, "the sacrament of the altar." Various attempts were made to induce him to recant, but in vain. He was delivered over to the sheriffs, and taken to Chelmsford, with several others. Being allowed a farewell interview with his family, he took leave of his wife and his six children with these words: "Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you. Therefore, henceforth I know you no more; but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord; whom I charge you to obey, and fear him, and beware ye turn not to this abominable papistry, in testimony against which I shall presently give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to fear, but let it strengthen you in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father to you." His family loved him: two of his children desired to be burned with him; but he was separated from them, and carried to the fire.

In the beginning of May, six weavers, of Coggeshall, were sent by the Earl of Oxford to Bonner; they were examined, and accused in the usual manner. Three of them recanted; but the other three bore testimony to the truth, and were burned on the 14th and 15th of June; NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, at Colchester; THOMAS OSMUND, at Manningtree; and WILLIAM BAMFORD, at Harwich.

We may pause in these details of butchery, to notice the reception of the English ambassadors at Rome. The death of Pope Julius III. has been already mentioned. Cardinal Marcellinus Cervinus was chosen his successor, a man of correct life and good reputation, and he determined to reform the corruptions of the See of Rome. Scarcely was he seated in the papal chair, when he strongly expressed his feeling of the difficulties by which he was surrounded. Quoting the words of Pope Adrian IV., he exclaimed, "That the pope was the most miserable of all men: his whole life was bitterness, his chair full of thorns, and his way of briers;" and added, "I do not see how they can be saved that hold

this high dignity." This was the declaration of a pope! Deeply affected by these thoughts, he sickened and died in a few days. Such a pontiff could not be acceptable to the Romanists, and they took care to appoint a very different character for his successor. Cardinal Caraffa was chosen pope on the 28th of May, a high-spirited, ambitious, and bloody man: he assumed the title of Paul IV.

On the day of his election, the English ambassadors entered Rome. They were admitted to a public audience on the 23d of June. In conformity to the directions of this haughty pontiff, they fell prostrate at his feet, and acknowledged the faults of their schisms, enumerating them, according to his orders, confessing their ingratitude, and humbly asking for pardon. Let it be remembered, this humiliation was not made as individuals, but in the name of the English nation. The violent pontiff had even hesitated whether he should receive them, although the return of England to the papal faith was a most important event. The reason for hesitation was, because Mary styled herself Queen of Ireland. This royal title was first assumed by Henry VIII. after throwing off the papal yoke, the kings of England having previously only been styled lords of Ireland. The pope asserted that the sovereign pontiff alone had power to form kingdoms, and said it was unlawful for any monarch to assume the regal title without his permission. An expedient, however, was devised: a few days previous to the public admission of the ambassadors, the pope declared that Ireland was a kingdom, and conferred the regal titles on Philip and Mary! He then received the ambassadors, as just related, and replied to them graciously, and pardoned the whole nation, telling the ambassadors that he gave the title of the kingdom of Ireland by that supreme power which he had from God, who had placed him over all kingdoms, to supplant those who rebelled, and to establish others! In private his words were not less decisive: he insisted upon the complete restitution of abbey lands to the last farthing, adding that they could not be kept without the pain of damnation; and declaring that he had not power to remit this sin, even if he wished to do so. He also told them that Peter Pence* must be paid again by England, and that he would send officers to collect it; for they must not expect that Saint Peter would open the kingdom of heaven to them so long as they usurped his goods on earth!

* This pope had, in his younger days, been a collector of the Peter Pence in England. It was a grant made by Ina, king of the West Saxons, A.D. 796, to Pope Gregory II., and continued by his successors, of a yearly tax of a penny for every chimney throughout England and Wales. Although this amount may appear trifling, yet it should be remembered that the wages of a common labourer, even after the Conquest, did not exceed a penny a day. Fuller calculates that, at the time of the Reformation, it amounted to £7500 per annum, which was no trifling sum in those days.

The ambassadors submitted, with much servility, to the pope's demands. These facts are too much connected with the antichristian power assumed by the head of the Romish Church, and his claims to rule the souls of men, to be passed by; but we gladly turn from such details to the records of "the patience and faith of the saints."

One of the most illustrious martyrs of the days of Queen Mary next claims our attention. This was JOHN BRADFORD, a prebendary of St. Paul's. He was a native of Manchester, and employed in the service of Sir John Harrington, one of the treasurers of Henry the Eighth, who placed implicit confidence in him. While in this employ, Bradford was prevailed upon to pass a false account; but one of Latimer's searching sermons was made the means of bringing him to a sense of the evil of his conduct, and he rested not until he had made full restitution, for which purpose he willingly gave up his little patrimony. Nor was that the only effect of the preaching of the Word. He relinquished his worldly prospects and advantages, and applied himself entirely to the study of the Holy Scriptures. With this design, he became a student at Cambridge, where he was much loved and esteemed. Bucer, in particular, urged him to become a minister of the Word; and when Bradford, with deep humility, pleaded his want of learning, the venerable reformer told him, "If thou have not fine manchet (wheaten) bread, yet give the poor people barley-bread, or whatsoever the Lord hath committed unto thee." Bishop Ridley gladly ordained him: and, being appointed to a prebend in St. Paul's, he preached in the metropolis during the last three years of King Edward's reign. The sum and substance of his preaching is thus described by Fox: "Sharply he pointed out and reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life." This is, indeed, the sum and substance of Gospel preaching; and wherever the Word is thus faithfully set forth, we may expect, through the Divine blessing, to see "great effects following." But it ever has been, and ever will be, hateful to those who are blinded by the god of this world; and, when Mary came to the throne, Bradford was marked for destruction. The event which was eagerly seized as a pretext for his arrest shows the baseness of the characters who pushed forward the restoration of the Romish religion. As already noticed, Bradford stood forth, at the hazard of his life, to protect Bourne, the Bishop of Bath, from the fury of the people, who were displeased at a sermon against the Reformation, preached by that prelate at Paul's Cross, immediately on the queen's accession to the throne. For this laudable exercise of his influence over the people, Bradford was accused of sedition, and committed to prison.

While under the charge of the queen's jailers he was com-

paratively well used, and they allowed him to preach and administer the sacrament to the friends who resorted to him. To such a length was their confidence extended, that they permitted him, upon his word alone, to leave the prison of an evening, whenever he asked, to visit the sick, or for any other errand of mercy. Bradford never abused this confidence, but availed himself to the utmost of the opportunities for usefulness thus afforded him. "Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life." Many resorted to him for counsel: to some he spoke, and to others he wrote; and many of his letters remain, whereby he, "being dead, yet speaketh."*

The Romanists could not be indifferent to such proceedings, but their malice was restrained for a season. At length they obtained full power; and Bradford, as one of the choicest of Christ's flock, was among the first who were marked out for sacrifice. He was brought up for examination on January 22d, after having been nearly eighteen months in prison. Gardiner accused him of sedition, but pardon was offered him if he would conform to the Romish faith. His appeal to Bishop Bourne to testify the truth of this matter was disregarded! and he was farther told that the queen was minded to purge the realm of all such as he was. For, now that the Romish prelates had their victims at their *own* disposal, according to their pleasure, they no longer urged the false charge of sedition.

The examinations of the martyrs cannot be fully detailed in these pages, but those of Bradford must not be wholly passed over. On his first examination, Gardiner accused him of vainglory, and of having deceived the people by false and devilish doctrine. Bradford denied this; upon which the Bishop of Durham demanded what was his opinion respecting the sacrament. Bradford inquired whether they asked this question acting under the authority of the pope, as he had repeatedly sworn that he would not obey that authority; he did this to remind them that they also had, in former times, in like manner sworn that they would not submit to the authority of Rome. The consciences of his judges were stung by this. Gardiner exclaimed, "Tush! Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at." "My lord," said Bradford, "these were not Herod's oaths, or unlawful oaths, but according to God's word, as you *yourself* have well affirmed in your book *De vera obedientia*," referring to the work published by Gardiner, a few years before, *against* the pope's authority! The crafty prelate was silenced for a moment; and Secretary Bourne gave a strong testimony respecting Bradford's excellent letters, saying, "It is reported by the

* See THE BRITISH REFORMERS, for these and other writings of Bradford.

Earl of Derby that he hath done more hurt by letters, and by exhorting those that have come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching." After farther examination, Bradford was again committed to prison, Gardiner ordering the marshal to keep him a close prisoner, as "he was now in another manner of charge than he was before."

On the 29th of January, Bradford was again brought before the Romish prelates. Gardiner once more offered him the queen's pardon, and warned him that he would be punished as a heretic if he continued to adhere to the religion taught in King Edward's days. He accused Bradford of presumption in his behaviour when protecting Bishop Bourne, and referred to the letters which he said Bradford had written, "to no little hurt of the queen's people;" and added, that he now questioned him only concerning his doctrine and religion. Bradford refused to answer, as this would be to acknowledge the pope's authority; a long conversation ensued, in the course of which Bradford told Gardiner that he could not but wonder he should make so light of solemn oaths against the pope's jurisdiction, when he laid so much stress upon priests' vows against marriage, and quoted passages from Gardiner's book, already mentioned. At this we are told "the lord-chancellor was thoroughly moved." They then proceeded to the great question, "How say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe Christ's natural body to be there present?" The consequences of the reply were well known to Bradford: he said, "I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and all this time you never questioned me upon this subject, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now you have a law to go by, and put to death if a man answer freely and not to your appetite; and so now you come to demand my answer to this question? Ah, my lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith! No more did the prophets or apostles. I read that the apostles stood to be judged, but I read not that they sat to judge." Gardiner felt this appeal, and again urged Bradford to recant and accept the pardon. The Romish prelates then went to dinner, and his farther examination was deferred till the next day.

In the proceedings against Bradford we cannot but see the earnest desire of the Romanists to bring him over to their opinions. The next morning, Hussey, a gentleman of the court, came to Bradford, and, claiming an old acquaintance with him, spoke in flattering terms of his behaviour before the prelates the day before, whereby, as he said, they had seen they had no matter against him. He then pretended to advise him, out of friendship, and as from himself, telling Bradford that no one knew of his coming, "to desire a time and men to confer with;" assuring him he would thereby escape the danger which threatened. Bradford saw through

this design, and said, "I neither can nor will make any such request." For then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all other, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess, the which thing I do not, for thereof I am most assured; and I will therefore give no such offence." Dr. Seton then came in, and spoke to Hussey in such a manner that Bradford plainly perceived all this was concerted among themselves. The doctor also flattered Bradford upon "his modest behaviour" the day before (he was then accused of pride and vainglory!), and advised him to ask to confer with some one, assuring him that Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley had been unable to answer at Oxford, and that Cranmer had desired to confer with the Bishop of Durham and others. Bradford saw through the thin veil of deceit, and would not be persuaded by this falsehood; upon which Seton changed his tone, and abused him as the bishops had done!

The martyr was then taken before Gardiner and his companions. They questioned him about the sacrament. Bradford said that Christ was present to the believer by faith, but there was no change in the bread; and also spoke of the manner in which they altered the command of our Lord, who said, "Take, eat, this is my body; not see, peep, this is my body;" referring to the holding up of the consecrated wafer. At this the prelates made "a great ado;" and Gardiner denied that Christ had commanded the sacrament, and the use of it! Finding, at length, that Bradford was not to be moved by their promises or threats, Gardiner read the sentence against him, and he was sent to the Poultry Counter.

They intended to have burned him at Manchester, but spared him for a time, being very desirous, if possible, to bring over such an able and excellent character to their faith. As Bradford could not be prevailed upon to ask for a conference, and thus give them occasion to say that he was doubting concerning his belief, various Romanists of note among the clergy, and some laymen of rank, came to converse with him, but their arguments were easily refuted. Among others, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chichester came to the prison to confer with Bradford; and because he refused to sit down in their presence, being desirous to show that he was unjustly accused of disrespect to his superiors, they stood also during their interview, which lasted three hours! Exactly the same arguments were used by these prelates as have been brought forward by the Romish bishops in England in our own times. It was not difficult for Bradford to reply to them. "Oh, my lords," said he, while they urged to him that he was not of the Church of Christ, "will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith wherein I take the unity of Christ's Church to consist, although he, in some points, believe not the definition of that which ye call the Church? I

doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved."^{*}

The next day came two Spanish friars: one was Alphonsus de Castro, already mentioned; the other was King Philip's confessor. Bradford showed the fallacy of their arguments; upon which Friar Alphonsus exclaimed, "Will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken of in the Scriptures?" Bradford said that he would farther admit whatever they could prove by demonstration. "He is obstinate," said the friar, turning to his companion; and Protestants, who hold to the Scriptures, will ever be deemed obstinate by Romanists. The friar was soon in a passion; and Bradford pithily observes, "He hath a great name for learning, but surely he hath little patience." Alphonsus said he would prove that the fathers, during the first eight hundred years after Christ, held the doctrine of transubstantiation. Bradford offered to put the question between them upon this issue, and declared he would show that the fathers held the very reverse. The friar "fumed marvellously," and said he came not to be taught; and speedily departed with his companion. Dr. Weston, also, had several conferences with Bradford, and used many flattering words to induce him to recant; even offering that his submission to the Romish Church should be received in secret. He avoided arguing respecting the sacrament so fully as Bradford desired, and spoke much upon the antiquity, universality, and unity of the Church; asking where Bradford's church was forty years ago.[†] "Sir," said the martyr, "the Church of Christ is dispersed, and not tied to this or that place, but to the Word of God; so that, where that is, if it is truly taught, is God's Church." The last conference that is recorded was of a more interesting nature. It was a conversation with the servant of a lady of some rank, who had been cruelly persecuted by her relatives for refusing to be present at the mass. But we must proceed to the narrative of Bradford's sufferings: the particulars already related are important; they show that the Romanists could behave with gentleness and flattery when they deemed the object of importance, and

^{*} We cannot but notice this, as showing that popery is unaltered. The creed of Pope Pius IV., as now set forth by authority, contains the articles of the faith of Christ's Church referred to by Bradford, which form what is called the Apostles' Creed. To these are added *twelve others*, containing the peculiar doctrines of Romanism; and it thus concludes: "I, N. N., do at this present freely profess, and sincerely hold *this* true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved," &c. ; or, as another version has it, "out of which" (popish additions included) "no one can be saved."

[†] This question is frequently asked by Romanists. It was well and pithily answered by a Protestant, who inquired, in return, "Where was your face before it was washed?" A complete reply to this demand is easily given, by showing that the Protestant religion is not a new invention of men, but that it is the religion of Christ, freed from the superstitions and errors added to it, at different times, by the Church of Rome.

were convinced that harsher measures would only fail, and tend to their own confusion. Bradford was treated with a degree of lenity which no others experienced, and their behaviour to him was a strong contrast to the cruelty they delighted to manifest towards others.

He was kept a prisoner in the Poultry Counter till the last day of June, when the wife of Claydon, the keeper, brought him word that he would be carried to Newgate that night, and burned the next morning. On hearing this, Bradford pulled off his cap, and, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, said, "I thank God for it: I have looked for this a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof." He then withdrew to his chamber, and spent the evening in secret prayer, and in serious conference with some friends, who, by the singular kindness of the keeper, were permitted to see him.

At night he put on a shirt, made by the wife of a friend, on purpose for his burning. After he had done this, he offered up a fervent and impressive prayer on the subject of the wedding garment. When leaving the prison he gave money to each officer, with an earnest exhortation to fear and serve God, and continually seek to avoid evil. "That being done, he turned to the wall, and prayed vehemently that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would cause the same to work effectually for Christ's sake. Then, being led through the court, all the prisoners called out to him and bade him farewell, as the rest of the household had done before, with weeping eyes." Reader, this was *not* a Romish bishop's prison!

Bradford's removal to Newgate was delayed till near midnight, the persecutors hoping that he would then pass unnoticed; but the Poultry, Cheapside, and all the way to Newgate, the streets were crowded with people, "praying for him with lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare."

A rumour had been industriously circulated that he and his fellow-sufferer would be burned in Smithfield at four o'clock in the morning, probably with a view to make people less desirous to be present at his burning; but a contrary result followed. It was an anxious night in London; a stranger might have exclaimed, in the words of Holy Writ, "What aileth thee now, thou that art full of stirs, a tumultuous city, (once) a joyous city!" and even in that day, the believers in Christ, though lamenting over the sufferings of their martyred fellow-citizens, could not but rejoice to behold the support vouchsafed to them. Well, indeed, might it have been added, "Thy slain men are not slain with the sword, nor dead in battle."—(Isaiah, xxii., 1, 2.) But it was truly a day of trouble and perplexity to the Romanists; they justly appre-

hended that the death of Bradford would convert many to the truth.

From daybreak the people continued to pour into Smithfield; and by four o'clock the crowd assembled was so dense and numerous, that it appeared to many who had "gone up to the housetops," as if so great a multitude could not have been assembled at such an early hour, unless almost by a miracle. The hours passed slowly away, and it was eight o'clock before Bradford was led forth to execution. As he went forward, guarded by an unusual number of armed men, his brother-in-law came to bid him farewell. One of the sheriffs, named Woodroffe, notorious for brutal conduct to the martyrs, struck this relative on the head, wounding him severely.

When they came to the stake, Bradford laid himself down upon his face, in earnest prayer; but a minute had scarcely elapsed when the sheriff ordered him to rise and make an end, on account of the pressure of the crowd, which filled the Romanists with apprehension. Bradford then arose and kissed the stake. Having put off his raiment, he turned to the multitude, and exclaimed, "Oh, England, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of idolatry, beware of false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you." The sheriff ordered him to cease. Bradford then declared his forgiveness of all men, and entreated the like from them; and said to his youthful fellow-sufferer, "Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a joyful supper with the Lord this night;" then embracing the reeds heaped around him, he added, "Straight is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it."

These were the last words heard by the by-standers; but, to use the beautiful expression of Fuller, they saw that "he endured the flame as a fresh gale of wind on a hot summer's day."

Bradford's stake-fellow (an expressive appellation then in use) was JOHN LEAF, a lad 19 years old, apprenticed to a tallow-chandler, in the parish of Christ Church, who was committed to prison during the preceding Lent, by the alderman of the ward, under the inquisitorial injunctions already noticed. Being brought before Bonner, he was examined, as usual, whether he believed that the bread was changed into flesh in the sacrament; and, having stated his belief on this subject, he was condemned. He had been a hearer of Rogers, the vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and readily declared his belief in the doctrines maintained by that faithful martyr and his brethren. Bonner sent two papers to him; one contained a recantation, the other a confession of the truths he maintained. They were read to him, as the poor lad was unable to read them himself. The first he refused, but readily assented to the latter; and being required to set his

mark to it, instead of a pen, he took a pin from his sleeve, and, pricking his hand, sprinkled the paper with his blood, desiring it might be shown to the bishop as an evidence that he was ready to confirm his confession with his blood.

The prisons were now filled with the faithful followers of Christ; and such was the state of those places, that confinement for any length of time, unless the prisoner was peculiarly favoured by the keeper, was as certain death as the stake. Many thus ended their lives, and their bodies were cast forth, like dogs, into ditches and by-places.

The search for Protestants was strict. *James Trevisam* lived in Lothbury, and had been bedridden for a long time. One day, Beard, a promoter (or informer) notorious in those days, entered the house, and heard the servant reading the Bible to his master; upon this, Beard apprehended the wife and three other persons, then in the house; they were confined for a fortnight, and obtained their release with some difficulty, although they submitted to all that was required. Beard brought a cart to the door, and would have carried Trevisam himself to Newgate, but the neighbours interfered, and gave security for his appearance.

The parish priest having reported Trevisam's sentiments to Bonner, that prelate declared he should be burned if he recovered; and if not, he should be buried in a ditch.* A short time afterward he expired. When he was dead, the priest compelled his friends to carry the body upon a table to Moorfields, and it was buried there. But Romish spite pursued him beyond the grave: his body was dug up the same night, and left naked upon the ground, as in the cases related to have recently occurred in Ireland. The owner of the field buried the body once more. A fortnight afterward, Bonner's summoning officer came to the grave, and summoned Trevisam to appear at St. Paul's before the bishop, to answer the charges against him!

We are not told whether the mummery practised in the case of Hunne and others was resorted to in this instance; perhaps the bishop was then too busily employed in looking after *living* heretics, to have time for attending to *dead* ones. Whatever was the result, his soul was beyond their reach; and even his body could not suffer from their cruelties.

To relieve, in some degree, the mind of the reader, which cannot but be wearied with these painful details, we may here notice a proclamation issued on the 15th of June, prohibiting all books contrary to the doctrines held by the pope and the Church of Rome. All persons were forbidden to

* The "Rituale Romanum" now in use expressly enumerates schismatics and heretics, and their abettors, among those who are excluded from Christian burial. Let it be remembered, that this extends to all who doubt any doctrine or precept of the Romish Church, that no other form of Christian sepulture is permitted, and that withholding this ceremony is considered as a mark of reprobation.

have or retain any books "against the doctrines of the Catholic Church." A long list of authors was given whose works were pointed out for condemnation; among these were King Edward's Liturgy and Hall's Chronicle. Works of a merely scientific nature were included, *as they now are*, if contrary to the philosophy of the Romish schools. Full power was given to search for these books; and the possessors were to be dealt with "according to law." Especial injunctions were given to the wardens of every company in London to make inquiries on this head, so that men could not meet for business or festive enjoyment without being exposed to the searching eye of Romish suspicion.

Fox says, that, having shown what books were condemned by the Romanists, he thinks it but fair to show what were then authorized by them. With this view, he gives a number of extracts from the Primer set forth for the use of children, by royal authority. We may extract the following: "*A Prayer to the Virgin Mary*. We beseech thee, of thy pity, to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven." "*A prayer to Thomas à Becket* :

By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend,
Make us Christ to climb, whither Thomas did ascend."

But some persons tell us that modern Romanism is freed from its former gross errors. Let us examine the language now used on similar occasions, and see whether it is not equally removed from the truth of the Gospel.

The following part of a hymn to the Blessed Virgin, usually called *Ave Maria Stella*,

Is thus given by Fox from the Primer above mentioned, printed in Queen Mary's reign :

Establish us in peace and tranquillity,
And change the name of sinful Eva;
Loose thy prisoners from captivity,
Unto the blind give sight again.
Deliver us from malignity,
To the end we may some grace attain.
Show thyself to be a mother :
So that HE accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of sin, &c.

Fox considers the above extract sufficient.

In *The Garden of the Soul*, London, 1824, it is more elegantly rendered.

Negotiate our peace,
And cancel Eva's wrong.
Loosen the sinner's bands,
All evils drive away;
Bring light unto the blind,
And for all graces pray.
Exert the mother's care,
And us thy children own;
To him convey our prayer,
Who chose to be thy Son.
O pure, O spotless maid,
Whose meekness all surpass'd,
Our lusts and passions quell,
And make us mild and chaste.
Preserve our lives unstain'd,
And guard us in our way;
Until we come with thee,
To joys that ne'er decay.

Another example may be given. In *The Litany of Our Lady of Loretto*, printed in "*The Garden of the Soul*, London, stereotype, 1824, by authority," and which an eminent Romanist states to be the most popular prayer-book among the individuals of his communion, is the following prayer :

"Remember, O most Holy Virgin Mary, that no one ever had recourse to your protection, implored your help, or sought your mediation, without obtaining relief. Confiding, therefore, in your goodness, behold me, a penitent sinner, sighing out my sins before you, beseeching you to adopt me for your son, and to take upon you the care of my eternal salvation. Despise not, O Mother of Jesus, the petition of your humble client, but hear and grant my prayer."* In the same work, we find, in "*A Litany of Intercession for England*," that Thomas à Becket is thus addressed: "St. Thomas of Canterbury, who, as a faithful shepherd, laidst down thy life in defence of thy flock, pray for England!" Another petition is as follows: "That it may please thee (O Lord) to hasten the conversion of this *our miserable country*, and reunite it to the ancient faith and communion of thy Church. We beseech thee to hear us." The Collect used on the festival of this Romish saint has already been given.

We might also refer to *The Psalter of the Blessed Virgin*,† quoted by Fox, and to the Litany of Loretto, now used, in which many appellations from Scripture, which can belong only to God, are applied to the Virgin; but it is a painful subject, and the reader will probably be satisfied. We will merely add, that this litany contains the following anthem: "We fly to thy patronage, O holy Mother of God; despise not our petitions, in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever-glorious and blessed Virgin. *Pray for us, O holy Mother of God*, that we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ."

Do not these things forcibly remind us of the words of the prophet Hosea: "Ephraim feedeth on wind, and followeth after the east wind." We refer to them "more in sorrow than in anger." Fervently would we entreat our Romanist countrymen to consider the advice given by the same prophet: "O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity. Take with you words, and turn unto the Lord; say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously; so will we render the calves of our lips. Ashur shall not save us, neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, 'Ye are our gods;' for in Thee the fatherless findeth mercy." (Hos., xiv., 1-3.)

* The Romanists say they do not worship the Virgin Mary as a deity, but reverence her with an inferior sort of worship, which they call *Hyperdulia*. Surely it would be difficult to show how the terms used in this prayer differ from those of the absolute reverence which is due to God alone.

† The following is an extract from Our Lady's Psalter:

"Why do our enemies fret, and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her, all ye that labour, and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you." This is indeed *Hyperdulia*!

CHAPTER VIII.

Continuance and Increase of the Persecutions.—Glover, Tankerfield, Smith, and others.—A.D. 1555.



Sufferings of the Protestants in Lollards' Tower. (See p. 155.)

WE now proceed to notice the persecutions in the diocese of Canterbury. Cranmer had been pronounced an obstinate heretic, but his see was not declared vacant; and although his death had been resolved upon, he was not brought to the stake. This was the effect of Gardiner's policy; he had long desired to be made Archbishop of Canterbury, and the pope's legate in England. The present pope being a declared enemy of Cardinal Pole, Gardiner hoped his designs would now be accomplished; with this view, he delayed the execution of Cranmer till he could gain the queen's favour sufficiently to feel assured that the archbishopric would be given to himself, and not to Pole.

Meanwhile, the charge of the diocese was chiefly committed to Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Harpsfield, the archdeacon of Canterbury. Thornton had formerly been spared by the lenity of Cranmer, when he justly deserved punishment; but he now urged forward the prosecution of the Reformers with all his power.

On the 12th of July, 1555, BLAND, FRANKISH, SHETERDEN, and MIDDLETON were burned in one fire, at Canterbury. Bland was Vicar of Adesham. Immediately after the accession of Queen Mary, some zealous papists in his parish began to

trouble him; and on the 28th of December, 1553, mass being restored by law, they procured a neighbouring priest to perform the Romish service. Bland, on entering the church, found him so engaged; but, being reminded that these proceedings were now authorized, he declared that he would not offend against the law. He waited till the priest had finished the Gospel, and then requested him to pause a little, while he addressed the people. He spoke to them "of the great goodness of God always showed to his people until the time of Christ's coming, and in him, and in his coming; and, among other benefits, he particularly reminded them of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood." He then proceeded to explain that the elements, after consecration, remained bread and wine, with other truths; upon which the Romanists seized him, and thrust him from the church with great violence. They afterward took him and his clerk to Canterbury, where he was compelled to give bail for his appearance.

Having thus secured him in their toils, he was summoned from session to session; and at last, being committed to prison, was brought up, with others, and remanded continually, until the laws against heretics were fully revived. Bland's examinations are given at length by Fox. They turn almost entirely upon the usual topic of the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament: after long argument, he brought them to maintain the often-repeated absurdity, that if a believer eat the consecrated host, he does not eat bread, but the real body of Christ; while, if a mouse ate the same host, it would only have eaten bread! At last, on the 25th of June, 1555, he was condemned.

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN was a layman; his examinations also are recorded at length, and relate to the same subject. In the course of them, Harpsfield stated that it was *the intention of the priest*, and not the words of consecration, that turned the bread into flesh and blood. This is a refinement of Romanism, of which the reader probably is not aware; and by which, while endeavouring to avoid one absurdity, the Church of Rome falls into a greater. The meaning is, that if the priest is *not* in earnest while he is engaged in performing any of the seven sacraments of the Romish Church, they are not really or effectually performed, so as to avail for the salvation of souls! Sheterden's answer points out the consequence; it was to this effect: "Then, if the priest do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, it is not Christ's body and blood. How, then, can the people tell when it is or when it is not, seeing it entirely rests with the mind of the priest? And if it is not changed, the people commit idolatry in worshipping a mere wafer." Harpsfield was silenced, but his assistant tried to help him. Sheterden was in their power; and, refusing to recant, was condemned.

In a letter to his brother, he wrote thus : "Though I be not learned (as the vain men of the world call learning), yet I thank my Lord God I have learned out of God's book to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Christ's sufferings and his supper, and a difference between the water of baptism and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together, so that if one ask me a question or a reason of my faith, I must say, 'I believe as the Holy Church believeth.'"

FRANKISH was vicar of Rolvenden, and MIDDLETON was a layman of Ashford ; they were condemned on similar grounds, and were burned together in one fire.

NICHOLAS HALL, a bricklayer, of Dartford, was burned at Rochester, about the 19th of July, having been condemned for denying the Romish doctrine of the mass.

MARGARET POLLEY and CHRISTOPHER WAID were the next sufferers. The former was the first female burned alive in this reign, and she was a widow ! As usual, her accusation and condemnation turned upon the absurdity of the mass. Christopher Waid was a linen weaver at Dartford, and was burned on the Brent, near that town, about the middle of July. The circumstances are thus described by two ministers who were present. A great number of persons assembled, so that several horse-loads of cherries, which were brought from the neighbouring orchards, were sold among the crowd. About ten o'clock, the sheriff and a numerous company appeared, bringing Waid and Margaret Polley from Rochester, pinioned in a cart, but singing a psalm with cheerful voices. When they saw the crowd, "Rejoice, Waid," said she, "to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day." They were carried to an inn. Waid was then dressed in a long shirt, prepared for him by his wife, and led to the stake. As soon as all was settled, he repeated with a loud and cheerful voice, and uplifted hands, the last verse of the 86th psalm, "Show some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed, because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me."

A pulpit was set up, and a friar entered it ready to preach ; but, as soon as Waid saw him, he exhorted the people to beware of the harlot of Babylon, and continted to do so till the friar shrunk away abashed, and gave up his design. The executioners heaped up the reeds and fagots ; and, although Waid endeavoured to keep an opening before his face, they blocked it up. The fire being kindled, he was heard to exclaim, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul !" and continued to do so without impatience ; standing still and holding up his hands clasped together above his head, as if engaged in prayer ; and remained in this attitude, "even when he was dead,

and altogether roasted, as though they had been stayed up with a prop under them:" thus, as it were, having a token shown upon him, to the confusion of his enemies.* Margaret Polley was carried on to Tunbridge, and suffered there.

On the 22d of July, DIRICK CARVER, a brewer, of Brighton, was burned at Lewes; and on the following day JOHN LAUNDER, of Godstone, suffered at Steyning. They were apprehended in the October preceding, having been found at prayer in the dwelling-house of Carver. Reader, mark that! Being sent up to London, they were brought under Bonner's jurisdiction. They were confined in Newgate till the June following, when they were brought before Bonner and accused upon the usual points; with the addition, that Carver had the English Bible read in his house, at Brighton, and had also used "English prayers." Launder was accused of having been present. It is scarcely necessary to add that they were condemned.

Carver was a person of considerable property; it was seized by his persecutors, and his wife and children were reduced to poverty. Education was not then so general as in after times, and, when apprehended, he could not read; yet, while in Newgate, he employed his time so well as to be able to read any printed book. We cannot notice this without calling to mind the very different circumstances under which many have, of late years, also learned to read within the walls of that prison. Much good seed has been scattered there; and although it is an ungrateful soil, yet we would trust that, by the Divine blessing, some may have been snatched as brands from everlasting burning, and may now be, with Carver, rejoicing for the instructions there received!

It was then become general for the people to pray for the martyrs as they were carried to execution. They did so when Carver was brought to the stake at Lewes. He thanked them, and prayed that they might be strengthened with the like faith. A barrel was set ready, and his Testament was thrown into it: the martyr, as soon as he was put in, threw the book out among the crowd, but the sheriff ordered it to be put back again.

Carver then addressed the assembly. "Dear brethren and sisters, bear witness that I am come to seal with my blood Christ's Gospel, because I know that it is true. You know that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places in England, and now it is not. And because I will not deny God's Gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of

* Fox gives these particulars from the narrative of two Kentish clergymen, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, named Fletcher. We may here notice, once for all, that when Fox details any minute circumstances, he almost invariably states the authority upon which he gives them; in general, these particulars were related by persons who were alive at the time when his work was published.

you as believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see that ye do the works pertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe in the Pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation; and except (without) the great mercy of God, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Immediately the sheriff exclaimed, "If thou dost not believe on the pope, thou art damned, body and soul." Carver, having entreated the forgiveness of all men, added, "O Lord my God, thou hast written, 'He that will not forsake wife and children, house, and all that he hath, and take up the cross and follow thee, is not worthy of thee.' But thou, Lord, knowest that I have forsaken all to come unto thee. Lord, have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my spirit, and my soul doth rejoice in thee."

The fire was kindled; he exclaimed, "O Lord, have mercy upon me!" and, springing up in the fire, called upon the name of Jesus; "and so he ended."

THOMAS IVESON was apprehended with Carver; and, after similar examinations, was burned at Chichester about the same time.

On the 2d of August, JAMES ABBES was burned at Bury; he was one of those who forsook his home for conscience' sake, and wandered about the country, desiring to avoid persecution, if they might do so lawfully. Being taken, and brought before the Bishop of Norwich, he was persuaded to recant, and dismissed with a piece of money. He had scarcely departed, when, his conscience accusing him, he returned to the bishop and cast down the money, declaring that he repented of his weakness. Thus he was enabled to bear his testimony to the truth.

The persecution now raged fiercely. On the 8th of August, JOHN DENLEY, a gentleman of Maidstone, was burned at Uxbridge. Justice Tyrrel, of Essex, a bitter persecutor, had met him in company with John Newman as he returned from the burning of Simpson and Ardeley. Suspecting, from their appearance, that they were Gospellers, he searched them, and found some papers containing a confession of faith: this was enough; they were forwarded to Bonner, "to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion." Denley was accused, with two others, according to the usual form, and condemned on the 5th of July; but the popular sympathy, so strongly displayed at the burning of Bradford, appears to have made the Romanists unwilling to burn any more in London for the present; so Denley was sent to Uxbridge. When the first fire was kindled, he began to sing a psalm, upon which the cruel Dr. Story* ordered a fagot to be thrown at

* That brutal persecutor used to glory in his cruelty, and recounted, with much

his face. It hurt the martyr severely, and he put his hand to his mouth. "Truly," said the brutal Story to the executioner, "thou hast spoiled a good old song!" But Denley, hearing this, extended his arms, and, resuming his psalm, died with the praises of God in his mouth.

PATRICK PACKINGHAM also suffered at Uxbridge, on the 28th of July. He was accused of the same offences as Denley; but, as Bonner sometimes introduced a little variety into these articles, we find it alleged against Packingham, that, "being brought to chapel to hear mass, thou didst unreverently stand, having thy cap on thy head all the mass, while thou didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands; thereby contemning and despising both the mass and the said holy water and holy bread."

JOHN NEWMAN, a pewterer, of Maidstone, was apprehended with Denley, and burned at Saffron Walden, on the 31st of August. Fox records the confession of faith of this artisan; it is too long for insertion here, but is worthy of attention, and would do honour to the most learned doctor.

RICHARD HOOK was burned at Chichester at this time; and six martyrs, named COKER, LAWRENCE, HOOPER, WRIGHT, COLLIER, and STEAR, were burned together at Canterbury.

Nor were the Romanists less active elsewhere; and several others were burned during the month of August.

ELIZABETH WARNE suffered at Stratford-le-Bow: she was the widow of John Warne, the stake-fellow of Cardmaker, and one of the congregation apprehended in a house in Bow churchyard on the 1st of January. Her death was chiefly owing to Dr. Story, who was related to her!

GEORGE TANKERFIELD, a master cook, in London, suffered at St. Alban's. During King Edward's reign, he had been a zealous Romanist; but the cruelties he saw practised by that party on the accession of Queen Mary, led him to perceive that they were not followers of the truth as it is in Jesus. He began to doubt their doctrine respecting the mass, and prayed earnestly that God would in mercy open his heart to perceive the truth. Such a prayer is never offered up in vain. Tankerfield was induced to read the Testament; he soon began to abhor the doctrines of popery, and exhorted his friends to do the same.

He was now a marked man. Having been unwell, he one day walked out for the benefit of the air, when Beard the informer came to his house, and desired his wife to fetch her husband, saying that he was wanted to dress a banquet at Lord Paget's. She, in the simplicity of her heart, seeing

glee, how "he had stopped the mouth of an *earwig* with a fagot!" He openly boasted to Philpot that not one Protestant had been burned without his having a hand in despatching him. Of this man it was emphatically said, "Story worse than Bonner."

Beard dressed as a gentleman, set refreshments before him, and ran to call her husband. He guessed the real state of the case, and said, "A banquet, woman! Indeed, it is such a banquet as will not be pleasant to the flesh; but God's will be done." On their return home, the wife, finding that her husband's apprehensions were realized, in a phrensy of despair snatched up a spit, and would have slain the wretched informer, had not a constable, who accompanied him, interposed. This was in the month of February; in due course, Tankerfield came under Bonner's power, and was, as usual, condemned, the mass being the test.

On the 26th of August, he was burned at St. Alban's. Being taken to an inn, many persons came to see him: some to dispute with and revile him, while others praised God for his constancy. Sitting down before a fire, he pulled off his shoes and hose, and stretched his leg out to the flame, but quickly withdrew it on feeling the pain. He then showed to those who stood by how the flesh persuaded him one way, and the spirit another. "The flesh saith, 'O fool, wilt thou burn, and needest not!' The spirit saith, 'Be not afraid, for this is nothing compared with eternal fire.' The flesh saith, 'Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance, which love thee, and will let thee want nothing.' The spirit saith, 'The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all earthly friends.' The flesh saith, 'Do not shorten thy time, for if thou wilt, thou mayest live much longer.' The spirit saith, 'This life is nothing compared with the life in heaven, which lasteth forever,'" &c.

About two o'clock, the sheriffs came from a gentleman's house, where they had been at a wedding dinner, and Tankerfield was led to a green at the west end of the abbey church, where he suffered with faith and patience.

ROBERT SMITH had been a clerk in the college at Windsor, but was deprived of his office on the accession of Queen Mary, and afterward was imprisoned. A minute account of his examinations has been preserved: they extended to a considerable length; but we will here only notice, that, on one occasion, Bonner had him brought to the room where he was at supper with the lord-mayor and one of the sheriffs; when, complaining of the prisoner's obstinacy, he protested "that, although they reported him to seek blood, and called him *bloody Bonner*, yet he declared, in the sight of God, that he never had sought man's blood in all his life." Smith indignantly exclaimed, "Why, my lord, do you put on this fair visor before my lord-mayor, to make him believe that you seek not my blood? Have you not had my brother Tomkins before you; and after you had burned his hand most cruelly, you burned also his body; and not only him, but a great many members of Christ; men that feared God and lived

virtuously; and also the queen's true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And, seeing you have showed so little mercy towards these saints, is it likely you will show me more favour? No, no, my lord! But if you mean as you say, why do you examine me respecting that which I am not bound to answer?"

Bonner pursued his purpose with cruel inflexibility: his reply to this remonstrance was, "Well, what sayest thou of the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?" The lord-mayor desired him "to save his soul." He answered, that he hoped it was saved through Christ Jesus, and entreated him to have pity on his own soul.

A few days afterward, Smith was again brought before Bonner, who questioned him whether auricular confession was not necessary to be used in Christ's Church. The martyr said that it was a device "to pick men's purses;" and added, "such pick-purse matters are all the whole rabble of your ceremonies, for all that ye maintain is but money matters."* Bonner inquired how he could prove this. The answer must be given in Smith's own words: "I speak by experience, for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For it hath been, we see, a betrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who, being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their soul's health. And, for example, I began to relate a device that, by report, was played off at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was some time a child, waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, who, being bound (or oppressed) in conscience, through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods; and forgave unto Master Gressam a great sum of money, and to another as much. *The priest had for his part a sum,* and the house (or monastery to which he belonged) had an annuity to keep him; which, when his brother heard, he came to London; and after declaring to the council how, by the subtlety of the priest, he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of Master Gressam, and his other friend (who appear to have been concerned with the priest); *but what he gave to the house could not be recovered.*" Bonner stopped him, while relating this; notable instance of the frauds of the Romish priesthood; but

* A modern traveller in Italy says that, according to the Romish faith, it appears impossible to keep a rich man out of heaven. There is sufficient ground for this assertion: as masses, and the prayers of the priests, are considered of avail to deliver the soul from punishment; and these prayers and masses are repeated for all those who are able to pay for them; to say nothing of the relief from many years' sufferings in purgatory to be obtained by the observance of superstitious ceremonies or the purchase of indulgences.

it is well worthy our notice, as a plain, unvarnished instance, from the many upon record, which show the means by which the wealth of monastic endowments was accumulated, and the vast importance to that corrupt church of the influence possessed by its priesthood.

On another occasion, Robert Smith was brought before the bishop, who commenced the examination with an oath, and scoffed at Smith and Tankerfield, calling one of them the speaker and the other the comptroller! The lord-mayor being present, Smith appealed to him, requiring that he might have justice; but, as the martyr related, "Then my lord-mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me I should preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried with the bishop, Away with me." The prisoners in Newgate were at that time so numerous, that many of those confined for religion were cast into an outer house, within Newgate, by which means they enjoined opportunities of conferring together; Smith earnestly engaged in reading and praying with his companions, and many were established in the faith.

Being condemned, he was carried to Weybridge, and burned there on the 8th of August. When at the stake, he besought the people to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that he should rise again to everlasting life. "Of this," said he, "I doubt not but God will show you some token." The reader will recollect that the Romish doctrine was, and is, that all who die heretics will go to everlasting perdition. But he, "being wellnigh half burned, and all black with fire, clustered together in a lump, like black coal, all men thinking him dead, suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, thus declaring a rejoicing heart; and so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, he slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life." This, and other similar descriptions, are not given from a desire needlessly to wound the reader's feelings; but they are evidently drawn from the life, and exhibit the painful circumstances attendant on the horrid fate which awaited these blessed martyrs far more faithfully than any laboured or eloquent description. The reader may probably exclaim, "Can such things be?" Let him remember that these details are *authenticated beyond dispute*, and that persons are yet alive (1828) who have beheld similar scenes in foreign countries!

STEPHEN HARWOOD was burned at Stratford, and THOMAS FUST at Ware, in the month of August. Fust appears to have opposed the doctrine of extreme unction; but no particulars respecting these martyrs are preserved, except the records in the bishop's register.

WILLIAM HALL, also, was one of the company sent from

Essex; he was condemned July 12th, and suffered at Barnet about this time.

George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, were also of this company: the cruel treatment they received in Lollards' Tower speedily brought them near to death. They were removed to private houses in the city, but soon died, and were cast out into the fields. Some of their Christian brethren came by night and buried them. *John Alworth* died in prison, at Reading, a short time before.

William Andrew perished in the same manner. Being sent from Essex by Lord Rich, he was confined in Newgate for seven or eight weeks, when Sir Richard Southall wrote to Bonner, urging that he should be examined, as "he had infected a number in the prison with his heresy." He was brought before Bonner, but died previous to condemnation.

On the 31st of August, ROBERT SAMUEL was burned at Ipswich. He had been minister of Barfield, in Suffolk. He continued to instruct his flock privately, and occasionally went to Ipswich to visit his family. The Romanists watched an opportunity, and apprehended him. Being carried to Norwich, he suffered much by command of the Romish bishop and his chancellor. He was put into a confined dungeon, and "chained, bolt upright, to a great post, in such sort that, standing only on tiptoe, he was compelled to stay up the whole weight of his body thereby." Here he was kept upon a bare allowance of two or three mouthfuls of bread and three spoonfuls of water each day, just enough to keep him alive. The torments he suffered are easier imagined than described. While in this trying situation, the Divine promise, "As thy days, so shall thy strength be," was remarkably fulfilled. Some who were present at his burning said "that his body did shine as bright and white as new-tryed silver."

The reader will be interested by the following extracts from a letter written by this martyr to his congregation.

When speaking of the *spiritual* receiving of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and contrasting it with the *carnal* ideas of the Romanists, he says, "With a sorrowful and wounded conscience, a hungry and thirsty soul, a pure and faithful mind, I do fully embrace, behold, and feed and look upon that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very Man, which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ. And, by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and sufferings fully in my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, turmoilings,

and troubles : my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation ; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more ; for all things are but loss, vile dung and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Jesus, my Lord and Saviour.

" Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones. Now I live ; yet, not I, but Christ liveth in me ; yea, I dwell in him and he in me ; for, through faith in Christ, and for Christ's sake, we are one ; that is, of one consent, mind, and fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.—(John, xvii.) Thus am I assured and fully persuaded, and on *this* rock have I builded, by God's grace, my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ, the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies ; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord. Amen."

Early in September, WILLIAM ALLEN, a labouring man, was burned at Walsingham. He was brought before the bishop because he refused to follow the cross in a procession ! Being urged by the bishop to return to the Catholic Church, he very properly drew a line of distinction, to which it would be well if Protestants were now more attentive than they usually are. He said he " would turn to the *Catholic*, but not to the *Romish* Church."*

In this month several others were burned. An aged shepherd, named ROGER COO, of Milford, suffered at Yexford. Such plain men often puzzled their persecutors far more than learned persons. According to the usual form of these inquisitors, he was asked why he was imprisoned. He referred to his accuser, who mentioned the usual cause, that he would not receive the sacrament. " Why will ye not receive the sacrament ?" asked the Bishop of Norwich ; Coo replied, " That the Bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine, instead of the Gospel, and faith therein." " How prove you that ?" inquired the bishop. Coo at once referred to a text which showed the difference between Christ received spiritually, by the true believer, and materially, by the partaker of the Romish sacraments. Our Saviour said, " My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him ; but the bread and wine doth not so [they are mere food]."

* Why should Protestants concede to Romanists the appellation of Catholic, which means " universal," and is only correct when applied to the members of the Church of Christ ?

After other arguments, the bishop told Coo he had the charge of his soul. "Have ye so, my lord?" said Coo; "then if ye go to the devil, what will become of me?"

The bishop inquired if he would obey the laws of the king and queen. "As far as they agree with the Word of God, I will obey them," said the martyr.

The bishop told him that whether they agreed with the Word of God or not, he was bound to obey them, even if the king were an infidel; and they concerned his soul, and not his outward conduct! Coo quietly observed, "If Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had acted thus, Nebuchadnezzar would not have confessed the living God."

Fox gives these, and other interesting particulars, from an account written by the martyr himself: "For," said he, "it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured, both now and forever. Amen."

Another of these Norfolk martyrs was THOMAS COB, a butcher, of Haverhill; he was condemned with those already mentioned, and burned at Thetford.

On the 6th of September, GEORGE COTMAN, ROBERT STREATER, ANTHONY BURWARD, GEORGE BROADBRIDGE, and JAMES TUTTY, all Kentish men, were burned in one fire, at Canterbury. Their examinations were similar to those already mentioned. In Broadbridge's answers, it is noticed that he said he would not confess to a priest or be absolved by him, because he could not forgive his own sins.

THOMAS HAYWARD and JOHN GOREWAY were burned at Litchfield, about the middle of this month.

On the 20th of September, ROBERT GLOVER suffered at Coventry. He was of a respectable family, at Mancetter, in that neighbourhood, and, with his brothers, suffered much from the persecutions of the Romanists. John Glover, the elder brother, had for many years been much troubled and cast down in spirit, fearing that he should perish everlastingly. This painful apprehension was overruled for good, and tended to create within him a strong hatred and abhorrence of sin; and, as Fox observes, "God would not heap too many sorrows upon one feeble soul, nor commit him to the flames of fire who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years." His profession of the Gospel, even under these painful feelings of doubt and fear, attracted the notice of the Romish prelate of that diocese, and orders were sent to the mayor of Coventry to apprehend him. The mayor gave John Glover private intimation, just in time to enable him to quit the house before the

officers arrived. Disappointed of their prey, the bishop's officer obliged the sheriff to seize his brother Robert, then sick in bed and grievously troubled in mind, although they had no authority to do so.

Robert Glover afterward wrote to his wife, giving a full account of his sufferings and examinations, and plainly showed that, what others count to be loss, he found to be gain. "Christ," says he, "likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, which, whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yes, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part nowadays be like *Æsop's* cock, which, when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barleycorn. So ignorant are they how precious a jewel the Word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which, being compared to it, be less in value than a barleycorn." How applicable is this remark to our own times!

His examinations before the Romish bishop of the diocese were in the usual form. That prelate said that he was his bishop, and *therefore* must believe him. "If you will be believed because you are a bishop," said Glover, "why find you fault with the people who believed Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and others, that were bishops?" He was sent to Litchfield, and there put in a close prison, next to the dungeon. He thus describes it: "Narrow of room, strong of building, and very cold; with small light, a bundle of straw instead of a bed, without chair, form, or any other thing." There he remained till he was condemned by the bishop, who had declared that, at the end of his visitation of his diocese, he would "weed out all such wolves."

Such was the treatment of a gentleman of respectability, taken from a sick-bed without warrant or accusation: contrast it with the treatment *now* experienced even by atrocious felons! The chancellor of the diocese urged the superiority of the Church to the Word of God, because the latter was made known by the former. This is a favourite argument with Romanists. Glover at once said, "This is no good reason, for it is like unto this: John showed the people who was Christ; therefore, John was above Christ!"

Robert Glover remained in prison eight days, till the bishop's arrival: "in which time," he says, "I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health and body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit; and sometimes, as it were, a taste and

glimmering of the life to come, all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake; to him be all praise forever and ever! The enemy ceased not to assault me, often objecting to my conscience my own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit, to be counted among the number of them that suffer for Christ, for his Gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the Word of God, on this sort: What were all those whom God hath chosen from the beginning to be his witnesses? Were they not men, even as Paul and Barnabas declared (Acts, xiv., 15), subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfection, as other men be? They were no bringers of goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. He is, and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins, without respect of person, to the dear world's end, of all them that call upon him. God is near: he is at hand, he is with all, I say, and refuseth none, excepteth none, that faithfully, in true repentance, call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is not arrogancy nor presumption in any man to burden God (as it were) with his promise, and to claim and challenge his aid, help, and assistance, in all our perils, dangers, and distress; calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ. In whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample, wise, and large manner than he can well wish or dare desire. *His word cannot lie*; 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me.' I answered the enemy also in this manner: 'I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this truth.' But what then? Must I deny his word, because I am unworthy to profess it? What would this be but to add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's Gospel? As Christ himself beareth witness, 'He that is ashamed of me, or of my words, of him I will also be ashamed before my Father, and all his angels;' I might, by like reason, forbear to do any of God's commandments, because I am not worthy to do them. These are the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the Word of God, applied according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil."

The reader will peruse these extracts with much pleasure, as a record of the patience and faith of this saint. The conclusion of his history demands our attention. Shortly be-

fore his martyrdom, he felt his doubts and apprehensions return; he mentioned the deadness of his soul and his want of spiritual comfort (notwithstanding his earnest prayers night and day) to Augustine Bernher, who has been already mentioned as visiting the sufferers for Christ whenever he could find opportunity. Bernher earnestly prayed him to wait the Lord's pleasure, and not to doubt but that God would visit him in his own good time, and satisfy him with abundance of consolation. Bernher not only expressed himself thus confidently upon the subject, but desired his friend to make some sign, whereby he might know when this support was vouchsafed.

Glover continued in doubt and gloom, but was still enabled to hold fast his purpose. He had continued all night in prayer, and was even come in sight of the stake, yet his mind was still weighed down with a burden almost too heavy to be borne. But, though cast down, he was not forsaken. The evening of a dark and stormy day is sometimes illuminated by the bright beams of the parting sun; and thus the Sun of Righteousness shone upon the last moments of this blessed martyr, "with healing in his wings." On a sudden he was powerfully filled with God's holy comfort, a foretaste of heavenly joys. Clapping his hands together, and turning to his friend, who stood among the crowd, he exclaimed, "Austen, HE is come, HE is come!" and that with joy and alacrity, rather as one who had been delivered from the fear of dying, than as one about to suffer the bitter pains of a cruel death. Surely this was the Lord's doing.

CORNELIUS BUNGAY, a capper, was burned with him.

We may here give some farther particulars, which are recorded respecting John and William, the brothers of Robert, as they show the hatred with which the Romanists pursued those who differed from them for conscience' sake. When John found that his brother Robert had been apprehended, partly because he was not himself found, he was much grieved, and would have surrendered himself, had not his friends convinced him that this would not be of any service to his brother. But the Romanists were not contented with one sacrifice from this family: they continued to search for John, and several times had nearly taken him. Once, in particular, the officers were searching a house where he was; John Glover stood against the door of a room, holding the latch in his hand, and one of the officers had actually drawn the string on the other side, when his companions called him away to search some other places! His wife was carried before the bishop; and, between anxiety for her and an illness contracted from sleeping in the woods, John Glover sickened, and shortly after died.

His friends buried him in the churchyard, without any fu-

neral solemnities, hoping to escape notice ; but six weeks had scarcely elapsed when the chancellor of the diocese sent for the vicar, and inquired why he had allowed this. The vicar said that he was then sick, and knew not of it. The chancellor ordered him to take up the body, and throw it over the wall, into the highway ! Upon the vicar's representing that the corpse must be so offensive as to render it unsafe to do this, the chancellor gave him a copy of the sentence, or curse against heretics, ordering him to read it from the pulpit, and "pronounce Glover to be a damned soul." Nor was this all : at the expiration of twelve months, he was to take up the bones and cast them into the road, "that carts and horses may tread upon them ; and then," said the chancellor, "I will come and consecrate again that place in the churchyard where he was buried !"

William, the third brother, also died while concealing himself from his persecutors. The people of Wem, witnessing his Christian end, would have buried him in the churchyard, but the curate informed the bishop, and a letter was sent to the church-wardens, forbidding them to allow the body to be interred there. By this time it was too offensive to be carried in the usual manner ; they were forced to draw it by horses to a common field, and bury it there !

On the 4th of September, the queen and all her court fasted from flesh to qualify them for receiving the pope's jubilee and pardon, or indulgence granted to all, "out of his abundant clemency," as Strype records in his journal of this reign. Those who wished to receive this benefit were to confess, fast three days in one week, and receive the sacrament on the following Sunday. They were then considered as having received complete remission of all their former sins !*

On the 16th of October, WILLIAM WOLSEY and ROBERT PIGOT were burned at Ely. Wolsey was a constable of Wells, and incurred the displeasure of a persecuting justice of that district. Not desiring to suffer persecution unnecessarily, he removed to Wisbeach ; but, being a "marked man," was

* Blanco White mentions that the Spanish government has two or three small fortresses on the coast of Africa. A few soldiers are maintained in them, and the court of Rome call this "a perpetual war against infidels," although hostilities seldom take place. The design is, under this pretext, to raise money by the sale of indulgences. Every year, copies of a papal bull, or decree, are sold, which allow the purchaser several privileges, the money paid being considered as applicable to this crusade ! The amount paid for these bulls varies from a few pence to larger sums ; the proceeds are for the benefit of the pope, allowing a considerable profit to those who retail them. One of these indulgences allows the purchaser to eat milk, eggs, and butter during Lent, which otherwise are forbidden as a mortal sin. Another allows the eating of flesh on certain days during that season. By the purchase of the third, property which has been unlawfully obtained is allowed to be kept, if the right owners cannot be found. The fourth is not for the living, but the dead ! The name of any deceased person is stated by the purchaser, and entered on the bull ; a plenary indulgence is thereby believed to be conveyed to his soul, if suffering in purgatory ! These bulls are often buried with the corpses of those they are intended to benefit, at the present day, as in former times. *Such is modern Romanism.*

observed, and at length committed to prison for heresy. The Romish clergy visited him in prison, exhorting him "to meddle no farther with the Scriptures than it became a layman to do." From the writings and speeches of the Romanists, even at the present day, we know that they do not consider reference to the Scriptures "becoming" in a layman. Wolsey heard them patiently; and, instead of attempting to enter into learned arguments, to which he was not competent, he said, "Good master doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean when he spoke these words: 'Wo beun to you, scribes and pharisees, ye hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of Heaven before men; ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in.'" The histories of the martyrs of this reign continually show that a simple Scriptural answer more effectually stopped the sophistries of the Romanists than the most learned argument. They urged Wolsey to read a book written by the Bishop of Lincoln; he did so. Knowing that it was not a time to trifle, he drew his pen through such passages as were contrary to Scripture: the chancellor of the diocese, to whom it belonged, applied for his book; but, seeing the treatment it had received, "Oh!" exclaimed he, "this is an obstinate heretic, and has spoiled my book." This chancellor does not seem to have been so bitter against the followers of the truth as some of his companions; he urged Wolsey to escape, saying that he would endeavour not to notice him. But Wolsey knew the position in which he stood; that many waited for his halting; also, even if the chancellor winked at him, others would not rest satisfied till they had seen him burned, and would take occasion, from his weakness, to speak ill of the cause he professed. He therefore determined to wait the regular course of the laws then in force.

Pigot was prosecuted by the inquisitors of his parish, and committed to jail; the prisoners were visited by Peter Valentine, a foreigner, and chaplain to the bishop, at that time officiating in the jail. Singular to relate, he was a follower of the truth. "My brethren," said he, "I have been almoner (chaplain) here twenty years, and I promise not to pull you from your faith. But I require and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the Gospel and the Word; and I beseech Almighty God, for his Son, Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me unto the end; for I know not how soon I may be in the same case as yourselves."

They were condemned on the 9th of October, and burned on the 16th. A Romish priest preached on this occasion, misrepresenting their opinions in the usual manner. When they were bound to the stake, a priest, named Collinson, came and told them what the preacher had said, desiring to

know their real sentiments. Wolsey called the Almighty to witness that he refused no doctrine set forth in the Scriptures, but firmly believed that all things necessary for salvation were contained in that blessed book; and entreated that his enemies might be forgiven for having belied him. A quantity of Testaments were then brought, and thrown upon the pile. The martyrs each snatched one, and, clasping it to their breasts, the fire was kindled; and they, repeating the 106th Psalm, "received the fire most thankfully."

A student of Cambridge confirmed the above particulars, as related to Fox by eyewitnesses, and added many things respecting the faithful boldness of Wolsey, and his watchful care over his weak fellow-sufferer, lest he should be persuaded to forsake the truth. One Hodilo visited Wolsey in prison, and by him he sent a noble (6s. 8d.) to a smith named Denton, with a message, rebuking him for turning to the Romish faith, reminding him that he had first given him the Bible; he now repeated to the smith that it contained truth, and desired him to make haste after him. To avoid the personal danger of delivering such a message, Hodilo sent it by a minister, named Lawrence, who went about secretly encouraging the followers of the Gospel. He delivered the money and the message; Denton's reply was, "I confess it is true, but, alas! I cannot burn!" Singular to relate, this man, who would not expose himself to be burned for the sake of the Gospel, suffered that fate a few years afterward for this world's goods. In the year 1564, his house caught fire, and, while endeavouring to save his property, he lost his life in the flames; thus perishing by that very manner of death he had so earnestly sought to avoid!

Before we proceed to the details respecting Latimer and Ridley, who also suffered on the 16th of October, we may briefly refer to the narratives just related. They show us plainly that neither age, sex, nor station in life was spared, in those who differed from the Church of Rome. Not only persons highly respected as ecclesiastics, who had stood forward themselves as able opponents of popery, but women, apprentices, artificers, and husbandmen were also committed to the flames.

Modern Romanists have endeavoured to lessen the number of these martyrs by representing many of them as suffering for other doctrines, such as Arianism, &c.* They would also have us believe that many suffered for political offences, although such sufferers are carefully excluded from the list of martyrs. They also try to diminish the number by falsely representing many of them as at variance among themselves, and that others were idiots or madmen! The

* See the Key to the Roman Catholic Office, Whitby, 1823, and several other Romish works lately published in England.

attempt is bold; and even the warmest advocate of Romanism would be puzzled to say how the charges of cruel persecution urged against Mary and her ministers would be removed, even if these excuses were admitted. It is, however, by such reasoning, dressed up with jesuitical and specious sophistries, that multitudes are misled. Humanly speaking, if the Romish laity in England and Ireland would "search the Scriptures" and examine history for themselves, they would no longer submit to the fetters by which they now allow their minds to be enthralled.

We live at a period when these details have been too much forgotten by Protestants; and it is now difficult to obtain credit for matters which, at that period, as Bishop Jewel observes, the most bigoted Romanist did not venture to deny.

Father Persons, or Parsons, the Jesuit, who lived and wrote at that period, attacked Fox's voluminous work, but he did not dare to assume the ground now taken by Romanists, and too commonly admitted by Protestants as a mere matter of course. He pursued a different line of argument, and adopted that scoffing, unfeeling strain, which we even now often see, when Romish advocates for a while lay aside the tone of mock humanity, which they frequently assume. These sufferers, who, though poor as to this world's goods, were rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven, are by him denominated "a contemptible and pitiful rabblement, obscure and unlearned fellows, fond (foolish) and obstinate women," &c., &c. The conduct of the Romish prelates is praised by him in the highest terms: he even pities them for having been forced to punish these poor martyrs! adding, "But what would our Saviour have said of such pastors, if they had suffered such noisome, wilful beasts to live among their flock without restraint or punishment!" Surely "a babe in Christ" can answer ten thousand such sophistries as these.

If we examine the records of these martyrs, we shall see that they were watched and sought for with the utmost eagerness;* and, so far from needlessly obtruding their senti-

* The story of Justice Drainer, of Kent, commonly called *Justice Nine-holes*, shows the eagerness with which these persecutors sought for heretics. Dods, the curate of his parish, had reproved him for some evil conduct, upon which Drainer, desiring to be revenged, invited him to breakfast; and, having a man concealed as a witness, endeavoured to induce him to speak against the proceedings then going forward. He failed in this object, but did not rest till he had caused Dods to be banished from the country.

Another plan of this Drainer is recorded. He made *nine holes* in the screen of the rood-loft, so that he could look about during mass time unperceived, and see who did not fully reverence the *breaden god* when it was held on high; and all whose conduct was at all suspicious were sure to suffer. For this he was called *Justice Nine-holes*! In the later editions of Fox, a circumstance is related which confirms this narrative, and shows how differently the Romanists were treated when Protestantism prevailed. Drainer went to the printer, and, requiring to see Fox, complained bitterly that they had printed falsehoods respecting him, declaring that he had only made *five holes*, the priest having made the other *four*! And that they were not made to see who refused to bow to the host. He also denied the account respect-

ments, they in almost every case abstained from the *public* profession of the Gospel till they could not avoid it without departing from their duty; they then stood forward with strength given them from above. Their accusations in no instance implied even a surmise of a political nature; the main question always related to the sacrament of the altar, upon which sandy foundation of error the Church of Rome seems, during the latter ages, to have mainly rested its fabric of superstition and ecclesiastical power. It was a searching question; and, as Fuller well remarks, "This point of the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, the self-same body that was crucified, was such downright falsehood, that it was incapable of any palliation, and was the easiest way to discover those of the contrary opinion. This *neck question* the most dull and duncical commissioner was able to ask; and, thanks be to God, the simplest Protestant soul brought before them was able to answer first by denying, and then by dying in defence of his denial." We may also quote the words of Baxter: "If you are sure you know bread and wine when you *see*, and *feel*, and *smell*, and *taste* them, then you are at the end of controversy with the papists." Or, as Jewel states, "If the Romish doctrine is admitted, then Being is not being, Remaining is not remaining, Changing is not changing, and the same thing is not the same. With such pretty constructions would they teach us to expound the ancient fathers."

ing Dods. The printer told him that this letter was confirmed by Mathews, the man whom he had concealed to take down the curate's words. As to the holes, the printer told him that he knew the excuse, with which he now tried to pass over the matter, as he had openly declared that he did it to gaze upon the congregation! This extract may appear trifling, but it strongly shows the vile characters employed under this inquisitorial system, and the faithful manner in which many of the minutest circumstances are recorded by Fox; it also presents a specimen of the evasive quibbles often brought forward by Romanists, and styled *refutations*!

CHAPTER IX.

Sufferings of Ridley and Latimer, Philpot, and others.—Death of Gardiner.—The Jesuits.—A.D. 1555.



The manner in which the dead bodies of the Protestants who died from their sufferings in Lollards' Tower were buried, after having been cast out in the fields. (See p. 174.)

WE have now to relate the last sufferings of two chief captains of this noble army of martyrs—Bishop RIDLEY and Bishop LATIMER. In September, 1555, a commission was sent from Cardinal Pole, as the pope's legate, authorizing the Bishop of Lincoln, and two other Romish prelates, "to examine and judge Latimer and Ridley for the errors they held and maintained by public disputation in the preceding year; also, previously, in the time of perdition,* and since." If they would recant, they were to be reconciled to the pope; but if not, they were to be burned.

The judges were seated in state in the divinity schools at Oxford, on the 30th of September. Ridley was first brought before them: he refused to acknowledge the authority of the pope, or of Pole as his legate, while he was ready to show all proper submission to any lawful authority of the land. The Bishop of Lincoln urged him to return to the Church of Rome, which, as he said, was derived from Peter, upon

* The reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were thus styled by the Romanists.

whom Christ had founded his Church. This, the Romish bishop alleged, was confirmed by the fathers; and he said that Ridley himself had once been of that opinion. In reply, Ridley showed that the Rock referred to was our Lord himself, and that the fathers had expressly shown that the pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome arose only from that city being the seat of imperial government. He confessed having once maintained the Romish opinion, even as St. Paul was once a persecutor of Christ. He was then required to attend to the articles objected to him, in which he was accused of having spoken against the sacrament at the public disputation, in which, as the reader will recollect, the Reformers had been *compelled* to take a part! He was required to give his answer on the following day, and sent back to prison.

Latimer was then called in. The simple appearance of that ancient father is thus described: "He held his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, with a nightcap or two, and a great cap such as townsmen use, with flaps to button under his chin, wearing an old threadbare gown of Bristol frieze, girded round him with a penny girdle, at which hung his Testament by a leathern string, and his spectacles hung round his neck."

The judges exhorted this venerable reformer to return to the Romish faith: "Consider," said the Bishop of Lincoln, "that without the unity of the Church is no salvation, and in the Church can be no errors!" The Romish prelate went on, declaring that his church was founded upon Peter, as could be proved from Scripture. Latimer, hearing this, began to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears! Bishop White proceeded to show the power of this Church, by quibbling upon the word "feed," which he interpreted to rule, as in one sense it may be understood, and concluded by urging that, if Latimer continued to be a rotten member of the body of the Church, he must be cut off, lest he should be noisome to the head, "his holiness the pope."

When the bishop had concluded, Latimer raised up his head, and asked if his lordship had done, desiring leave to say a few words. This being given, the venerable father then proceeded: "Your lordship gently exhorted me, in many words, to come to the unity of the Church. I confess the Catholic Church, spread throughout the world, in which no man may err, and without which unity of the Church no man can be saved. But I know perfectly, by God's word, that this Church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter performed his office well; and, truly, in that (way) he was bid *regere* (to govern), but the bishops of Rome have since taken a new kind of *regere*. They ought to rule, it is true,

but how! According to the Word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned ruling according to the Word of God into ruling according to their own will, as it pleaseth them." He proceeded some time in this homely, yet forcible manner. After some farther words, one of the commissioners accused him of want of learning. "Lo, you look for learning at my hands," he replied, "which have gone so long to the school of forgetfulness, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book or pen and ink, and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles! You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and overnight the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and has good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or want of friends, is set all night in the stocks. In the morning, when they meet, the one is in full strength, the other almost dead through feebleness. Think you not that to run such a man through with a spear is a goodly victory!" After farther conference he was dismissed till the morrow, though he entreated them to finish with him that day.

The next morning they were again brought forward. Ridley having remarked that the Supper of our Lord had never been better ministered, or more duly received, than during the late reign, the Bishop of Lincoln exclaimed, "A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster-table instead of an altar, and to come from (eating) puddings to receive." Ridley replied, "Your lordship's unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men do now from other things." Ridley then desired permission to read his answers to the articles on which he was accused. This was not allowed; and the Romish bishops having examined the paper, declared it contained blasphemies not fit to be read! After farther disputation, Ridley claimed the promise made him the day before, that he should be allowed to state his reasons against the pope's authority. This was granted, but he was restricted literally to the terms of the promise, which were, that he should speak forty words; and before he had concluded the first sentence, the Romanists exclaimed that his number was out, and stopped him! With hypocritical confessions of kindness, White said that he was sorry for him. "I believe it, my lord," said Ridley, "for it will one day be burdensome to your soul!" The usual sentence of condemnation was then read.

Latimer next appeared; respecting the mass, he thus expressed himself: "Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for

* Gavin's "Master Key of Popery" contains many details which show the truth and justice of this observation. To explain the bishop's words, we should remark, that Romish priests are required to perform mass before they break their fast.

The sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice." He was condemned, of course.

On the 15th of October, the Rowish bishop of Gloucester, with others, came to the house of Mr. Irish, the mayor of Oxford, where Ridley was closely confined,* and dressing him, by force, in the finery of a popish priest ready to say mass (they denied that he was a bishop), proceeded to degrade him according to their usual form. Ridley spoke vehemently against the folly of their ceremonies, till they threatened to gag him, if he were not quiet. He stood silent until they put the Gospels in his hand, and then took them away, saying, "We do take from you the office of preaching the Gospel." At this he sighed, and, looking up to heaven, said, "O Lord, forgive them this their wickedness." This ceremony being ended, Ridley wished to converse with the bishop upon the subject, but was told, "You now are out of the Church, and we may not talk with any that are out of the Church." Ridley then entreated him to read Bertram's book respecting the sacrament, and to convey a petition to the queen in favour of his relatives. He was delivered over to the bailiffs of the town, with strict orders to allow no man to speak to him.

That night Ridley supped with the family of the mayor. He invited his hostess and the others present to his marriage, for, said he, "To-morrow I must be married." Mrs. Irish, the wife of the mayor, was a papist, but she shed tears for his approaching fate. His brother offered to remain with him all night, but Ridley declined, saying that he meant to go to bed, and sleep as quietly as ever he did in his life.

The next morning, October the 16th, the place of execution was prepared: it was in front of Balliol College, at that time a ditch by the town wall, but now filled up and made a street; the exact spot was near the corner of Broad-street. Lord Williams, of Thame, was present, by order of the Council, with an armed force. Ridley came first to the stake, dressed in a farred black gown, such as he usually wore, and walking between the mayor and an alderman. Then followed Latimer in his old frieze coat, with a long shroud hanging down to his feet. As Ridley passed the prison of Bocardo, he looked up at the windows, hoping to see Cranmer; but the Spanish friars were then disputing with the

* Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were confined separately during the greater part of the time they were at Oxford: the former in the prison called Bocardo, the two latter in private houses. From a book in the library of Bene't College, Cambridge, referred to by Strype, it appears that they were sometimes allowed to dine and sup together. They were then under the charge of the city bailiffs, who expended £63 in the care of these prisoners, but were only repaid £20. For the rest, they had to petition the Protestant bishops in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and there is good reason to believe that their application was not in vain.

archbishop. Looking back, he saw Latimer following; and when they arrived at the stake, he embraced his aged companion, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." They then kneeled down and prayed separately, and afterward conversed together. Dr. Smith next began a sermon from 1 Cor., xiii.: "If I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, I gain nothing thereby." The reader may easily suppose the tenour of this discourse, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. Ridley then said to Latimer, "Will you answer the sermon, or shall I?" "Begin first, I pray you," was the reply. "I will," said Ridley.

They both kneeled down, and entreated Lord Williams to allow Ridley to speak a few words. That nobleman was inclined to grant the request, but Dr. Marshall, the vice-chancellor, and the bailiffs, ran up to Ridley and stopped his mouth, telling him that he must not speak unless he would recant. "Well, then," said he with a loud voice, "I commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall without favour judge all."

Latimer added one of his pithy sayings: "There is nothing hid but it shall be opened," and said that he could answer Smith well enough, if he were permitted. They were then ordered to make ready for the fire. Ridley gave away many trifling articles to the by-standers, who crowded eagerly to obtain them. Latimer gave nothing, but allowed the keeper to take off his upper garments; and his mortal frame becoming invigorated at the prospect of the near approach of his journey's end, he no longer appeared a withered, crooked old man, his body crazed and bending under the weight of years, but stood upright, "as comely a father as one would desire to behold."

Ridley then, standing at the stake, held up his hand, and said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, O Lord God, have mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." The smith then put an iron chain round the martyrs, and drove in a staple to fix it. "Good fellow," said Ridley, "knock it hard, for the flesh will have its course." His brother-in-law brought some gunpowder; being told what it was, Ridley said, "I will receive it as sent of God," and inquired whether there was some for Latimer. He also addressed Lord Williams, requesting him to speak to the queen in behalf of his relatives, and some tenants of the See of London who had taken leases from him, but had been dispossessed by Bonner, that he might obtain new fines from others.*

* While Ridley held the bishopric of London, he maintained Bonner's mother and

All was now ready—a lighted fagot was brought and laid at Ridley's feet. Then Latimer addressed his stake-fellow in these memorable words: "BE OF GOOD COMFORT, MASTER RIDLEY, AND PLAY THE MAN; WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE, BY GOD'S GRACE, IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT."

That light has not yet been extinguished; and, blessed be God, it appears to burn with increasing brightness. But let British Protestants, of whatever denomination they may be as to *outward* forms, be watchful, and earnestly seek to strengthen the things that remain; for One walketh now, as of old, "in the midst of the candlesticks" (Rev., i., 11)—may he find us "trying them which say they are apostles, and are not." And may he not find us negligent or slothful, lest he should "remove this candle" from our land, as he did from the churches of old.

The fire burned fiercely. Ridley exclaimed repeatedly, with a loud voice, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Lord, receive my spirit!" Latimer cried as vehemently, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" and bent towards the flames, as it were embracing them: he then stroked his face with his hands, and bathing them in the fire, speedily departed with little pain.

Ridley's sufferings were more severe. The fagots had been built too high on his side, and kept the flames from burning up. He entreated them to let the fire come to him: his brother, anxious to comply with his request, but mistaking his wishes, heaped the fagots still higher, so that his lower parts were burned, while the upper part of his body remained untouched. After some time the by-standers perceived that his legs were consumed, while his garments on one side were hardly scorched; he still continued to call "Lord, have mercy upon me!" frequently adding, "Let the fire come to me!" At last he was understood; one of the attendants pulled away the upper fagots, the flame rose, and the gunpowder exploding, he stirred no more; but his legs being consumed, his body turned over the chain and fell at Latimer's feet.

Hundreds were moved to tears at beholding the horrid tortures endured by Ridley, and to see his own brother anxious to do him a kindness by hastening his end! Nor could they remember with indifference that these men had held the first stations in the land, and had passed an active and useful life, honoured for their learning, piety, and irreproachable conduct, ever manifesting deep anxiety for the welfare of the bodies and souls of men. Grievous indeed was it to see two such

sister, treating them with much respect. The mother was always allowed the most honourable place at his table. Bonner returned this conduct by depriving Ridley's brother-in-law of his property, and by seeking occasion to accuse him of heresy!

excellent individuals put into the fire and burned.* "Well," says Fox, concluding the narrative of their sufferings, "dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already; what reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare."

It was remarked that an unusual quantity of blood gushed from the heart of Latimer while his remains lay among the embers. This forcibly recalled to the minds of the spectators the constant prayer of the venerable martyr during his imprisonment; which was, that, as God had called him to be a preacher of his Word, so he would also give him grace to stand to his doctrine unto death, and shed his heart's blood for the same.

We have next to contemplate the last hours of a very different character—of Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, who had been for many years the chief opposer of the Reformation in England. On the day of Ridley and Latimer's martyrdom, he waited with impatience for the account of their burning. At that period it was usual for persons of rank to dine at eleven o'clock, but on this occasion Gardiner delayed his meal till he received the intelligence he so anxiously desired. About four o'clock an express arrived, informing him that fire had certainly been set to the pile: he then sat down to dinner with much glee; but, while feasting his body with the viands before him, and his mind with the sufferings of the martyred saints of the Most High, he was seized with a mortal disease (the consequence of vices in which he had long indulged), which left him not till he was brought to the narrow house appointed for all living. For some days his illness did not prevent him from attending the Parliament and other affairs; but it rapidly increased, and as Pilkington, bishop of Durham, a contemporary, stated, "he rotted above ground; so that it was scarcely possible to get any one to come near him." The sufferings of his mind were not less painful than those of his body. He frequently exclaimed, "I have sinned like Peter, but have not repented like him." His case presents an awful warning to those who defer the hour of repentance. Dr. Day, the bishop of Winchester, seeing his dreadful state of body and mind, and well knowing that the juggleries of Romanism could not at that hour afford any comfort, had recourse to the only ground of

* The account book already mentioned contains the following items:

	s.	d.
For three loads of wood fagots to burn Ridley and Latimer	12	0
Item one load of furze fagots	3	4
For the carriage of these four loads	2	0
Item a post	1	4
Item two chains	3	4
Item two staples	0	6
Item four labourers	2	8

salvation. He endeavoured to comfort the dying prelate with the promises of God's mercy, and the offers of free justification by the blood of Christ, repeating passages of Scripture. Gardiner, raging with the natural enmity of the heart of man against the doctrines of grace, but convinced, though not changed, exclaimed, "What, my lord, will you open that gap now? Then farewell, all together. To me, and such other in my case, indeed, you may speak it; but open this window to the people, and then farewell all together." We read that the devils believe and tremble; awful to say, Gardiner's case appears to be similar.

The character of Gardiner need not be drawn at any great length. Cool and crafty, he left the drudgery of persecution to others, while he bent all his endeavours to build Romanism upon a firm foundation. Respecting his changeableness of conduct in opposing the pope, and afterward restoring his power, there is no occasion to enlarge.* In a word, he was entirely devoid of any Christian principles.

Reader, for a moment let your thoughts return to the morning of the 15th of October, 1555. View Ridley, deprived of his rank, honours, and possessions, condemned to the fire and standing at the stake, his friends hardly daring to address him. Contrast him in this forlorn state with his persecutor, secure in the favour of his royal mistress, assured of the countenance and support of the pope, so that the dignity of cardinal and the legatine power appeared within his grasp, with the probability of supplanting his rival, and obtaining the primacy of the land. View him in possession of rank, honours, favour, and riches, and expecting a large increase. Then say, in the place of which of them would you prefer to be found? When thou comest into the sanctuary of the Lord, thou shalt understand the end of these men. Surely, the contrast of their last hours must constrain us to exclaim, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!"

In the same month, JOHN WEBB, GEORGE ROPER, and GREGORY PARK were burned at Canterbury, and suffered with much patience. When the fire was kindled, Roper stretched out his arms, and held them in that position, without moving, till they were consumed and fell from his body.

About this period, several individuals are recorded to have died in Lollards' Tower and other prisons, from the severe sufferings they endured. Their bodies were invariably cast

* Burnet has printed a letter written by Anne Boleyn to Gardiner, in the year 1529. He was then at Rome, endeavouring to procure Henry's divorce; and from this letter it is evident that he was aware of Henry's intention to marry her. This was before Crommer had been introduced to the king! Gardiner was no favourite with the people. Once he was appointed to victual the royal navy; he then procured Wednesday to be observed as a fast (or banyan) day, no flesh meat being allowed to the sailors. They called it "the bishop's fasting day."

out into the fields, but charitable individuals used to bury them at night or early in the morning. The archers in the Finsbury fields, where they in general were cast, used often to assist, standing round the grave and singing psalms—the songs of Zion in a strange land!

The Parliament met on the 21st of October; but men were much discontented with the recent persecutions, and the evident design to throw all power into the hands of the Romish clergy. This was strengthened by the queen's determination to restore all the property still possessed by the crown, which the legate claimed as the "patrimony of the Church;" and an act was passed accordingly.

By Gardiner's death Pole acquired greater authority. He now brought forward several decrees. The first ordered a constant remembrance of the reconciliation of England with Rome. The other strengthened Romanism, but in many respects tended to reform the clergy. Pole was aware that men's minds were too much enlightened in England to allow the gross vices so common among ecclesiastics in former times, and even at a later period in other countries. He knew that, if a similar course were pursued in England, the system of superstition and error must again be destroyed. From policy, he rather discouraged the full course of persecution; but, aware that the Romish See would not countenance milder proceedings, he allowed his deputies and the other prelates to proceed as violently as they chose. It was soon evident that, although Gardiner was dead, the persecutions would continue unabated; for they proceeded from the principles of that Church, which is represented in the Apocalypse as "drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus," rather than from the passions of individuals, although the latter naturally tended to increase or diminish the severity of the measures adopted. We may here mention that Pole refused to grant the request of the Jesuits, when they petitioned to be allowed some of the monasteries in England, which the queen purposed to restore, that they might establish schools and seminaries for education.

A few particulars respecting the Jesuits may be desirable in this place. At the commencement of the Reformation, about A.D. 1520, when the monks and friars were all more or less sunk in sloth and sensuality, an enthusiastic Spaniard, named Loyola, determined to found a new monastic order, dedicated especially to the service of the Virgin and her Son. At first this was opposed by the popes; but the progress of truth showed them the necessity of obtaining additional and more efficient aid; and Loyola offering that his followers should take a vow of absolute and unconditional obedience to the popedom, without any charge to the Holy See, Paul III. perceived the value of such auxiliaries, and granted ample privileges to the order of Jesuits.

It is impossible here to attempt even a brief sketch of the rise and progress of that order. Its unceasing devotion to popery, as an outward form, may be attributed to Loyola; but the profound and artful system of policy by which it has been conducted is to be attributed to Lainez and others, who were his earliest coadjutors.

While other monastic orders appear, more or less, to lead their votaries to superstition and seclusion from the world, Jesuitism proceeds in a manner directly opposite. The members of this order are expressly freed from all the long daily routine of religious services; they are commanded to mix with the world, to study the dispositions of persons of every rank, and to direct or influence all things for the advancement of Romanism.

It soon became evident that, although this was the outward object, yet the chief design was to promote the power and influence of the order itself, so as to attain an absolute control over the whole world! Proofs of this were speedily so apparent,* that considerable opposition was made to the progress of the society even in Romish countries. But it prevailed against the opposition of its enemies, and was particularly successful in obtaining control over the greater part of the colleges and establishments for education.†

The great and leading maxim of Jesuitism being, "that the end sanctified the means, or, that it was lawful to do evil that good (or what was denominated such) might come," led to the adoption of a system of relaxed and pliant morality, which obtained influence over mankind by accommodating itself to the vices and passions of human nature, even while it outwardly professed the reverse. Such a procedure must ever be opposed to the light of truth; and the members of this order have ever conceived it their peculiar function to combat the opinions and check the progress of Protestants.‡ This has ever been their favourite object, although in general followed in a concealed manner, according to the usual tenour of their policy; but the artifices of Jesuitism are fully developed in the Secret Rules of the Society, which have

* M. Canaze, the French ambassador at Venice, stated to Henry IV. many facts relative to the Jesuits. Referring to some of their papers which had been seized at Padua and Brescia, he says, "Memoirs were found relating rather to the monarchy of the world than the kingdom of heaven."—See vol. iii. of his Letters and Memoirs. Also, "Secreta Monita Societatis Jesu."

† Notwithstanding the abolition of popery in England, the Jesuits obtained the chief influence here over the Roman Catholics, and engaged in many plots against Queen Elizabeth and King James the First. For these they suffered as traitors, being convicted upon the clearest evidence; but they were honoured at Rome as Martyrs; and the pictures of Garnett and others, who were concerned in the Gunpowder Plot, were placed in the Jesuits' College at Rome, and treated with the greatest respect.

‡ "They (the Jesuits) have published such tenets concerning the duty of opposing princes who were enemies of the Catholic faith as countenanced the most atrocious crimes, and tended to dissolve all ties which connect subjects with their rulers."

—Robertson's Charles V., book iv

been published. The services rendered to popery by this order were considerable; at the same time, the encroaching spirit of Jesuitism rendered it dangerous to the very faith it undertook to defend. This became more fully apparent, and the Jesuits were at different times expelled from several Romish countries.* At length, in 1773, the order was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV., who is said to have fallen a sacrifice in consequence.

But the late Pope Pius VII. re-established the Jesuits, under the pretence of seeking their aid against infidels and heretics. He declared that he should "deem himself guilty of a great crime against God" if he neglected to employ in the service of "the bark of St. Peter those vigorous and experienced rowers who volunteered their services."† And thus an order of men,‡ "who avowedly live for no other object but to promote the cause of the pope, and to procure the establishment of the Church of Rome upon the ruins of all other churches and states in the world," has been re-established, and is now in active operation, even in England; in former times, it prosecuted its objects privately, and under any mask which appeared expedient; surely it is important to inquire whether any change has taken place in this respect.‡

In this work it is impossible to set forth the crafty policy and equivocation which have rendered the words *Jesuitical* and *Jesuitism* proverbial terms,§ or to notice their missions,

* Their expulsion from France, and, indeed, their suppression by the pope, were mainly owing to a lawsuit relative to some mercantile transactions with Martinique (for the Jesuits were TRADERS upon a very large scale), which occasioned the production of their books; and an advantage was thus given to their opponents, which was not neglected.

† Among the papers of one Hoth, a converted Jesuit, who assumed the character of a Protestant minister in 1588, was found a license to preach what doctrine might be necessary for exciting divisions among Protestants. This may be verified by reference to the registry of the diocese of Rochester. Are there any such preachers in our days?

‡ See *THE PROTESTANT*, published at Glasgow, vol. ii., No. 128 to 143; also, *A Brief Account of the Jesuits*, Lond., 1815; *The History of the Jesuits*, 2 vols. 8vo, Lond., 1816; *The Picture of Popery*; also, *Robertson's Charles V.*, Seckendorf, and other historians.

§ In the *History of the Jesuits*, vol. ii., chap. xvi., particulars are given of the solemn vows entered into by the Jesuits, in which the engagements are to be observed "according to the constitution and according to the custom of the society."—See Mark, vii., 13. The same work contains numerous extracts from their writings; two may suffice. In the year 1644, the University of Paris denounced many of the principles taught by Horeau, the Jesuit professor of Moral Theology, and exhibited in his own handwriting. One was as follows: If a person were in danger of losing his good name, either by a true or false accusation, and were not able to prevent this "except by killing the accuser clandestinely and in private, he may lawfully do it." L'Amey, another Jesuit, published a Course of Theology, in which he taught that an ecclesiastic might kill a person who was about to publish any great crimes of himself, or of his order, provided there was no other way of hindering it.—See *History of the Jesuits*, vol. ii., p. iii., 130. Also, *Pascal's Provincial Letters* (the 13th). Pascal ably exposed the doctrines of the Jesuits, both as moralists and theologians. As they held such doctrines on the subject of the Sixth Commandment, the reader may easily suppose that the others might be similarly broken. It is unnecessary here to notice the sophistry by which these horrid doctrines were supported. In *The Protestant*, and other works, the reader will find a particular account of the *Secreta Moria*, or the Secret Rules of the Jesuits.

by which the heathen have been encouraged in idolatry, and the religion of Christ degraded by the attempt to unite it with the vilest superstitions. These, and many other particulars, are fully discussed in several works expressly written upon the subject. But it may be well to add the words of a Roman Catholic advocate, addressed to a Roman Catholic body (the Parliament of Paris) in 1564, as reported by De Thou, a Roman Catholic historian. "You yourselves, who now tolerate the Jesuits, even you, if you continue that course, will reproach yourselves, *when it is too late*, with your mistaken credulity, when you shall behold the deplorable consequences of your pliancy in the overthrow of all public order and tranquillity, not only in this country (France), but throughout the whole Christian world."

On the 18th of December, JOHN PHILPOT, archdeacon of Winchester, was burned in Smithfield. He was the son of a knight of Hampshire, and distinguished himself at Oxford for his learning, especially for his knowledge of the Hebrew, an acquirement unusual in those days. Having travelled on the Continent, he returned home confirmed in the principles of the Reformation, and was noted during King Edward's reign for his faithfulness and ability as a preacher. In the early part of Queen Mary's days, he distinguished himself by his public and zealous defence of the truth, as related in a former chapter. On this account he was marked and speedily committed to prison. The Romanists were very desirous to bring him to their opinions, well knowing that his ability and learning were calculated to promote their cause. For this reason, he was not included among the early martyrs of the reign; but a short time previous to the decease of Gardiner, that prelate transferred him to Bonner. He was treated with much severity, and endeavours were again used to bring him over to the Romish faith. Philpot found means to leave in writing particulars of thirteen of his examinations, with a full account of the treatment he received.

These interesting and instructive documents well deserve to be studied by every Protestant.† Bonner and Story, as usual, behaved with brutality, fulfilling the words of the latter, who told Philpot, on his first examination, "Thou shalt go to the Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic as thou art, and be judged by my Lord of London."

Philpot was confined, with several others, in a dark dungeon, at the end of Bonner's Coal-house, in Paternaster Row; or in a tower on the battlements of the Cathedral, without fire or candle, in the month of November; but there was one with him, even "the Comforter;" and under his influence,

* See *A Brief Account of the Jesuits*, London, Rivington, 1815.

† See *The British Reformer*, "Philpot."

as Philpot wrote secretly in the Coal-house, "I, with my six fellows; do rouse together in straw as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do on their beds of down!" But this association with his brethren in affliction was found injurious to the cause of Romanism; he was accused of "strengthening the other prisoners in their errors," and was removed for a time to solitary confinement in the tower just mentioned. He thus describes his removal: "I passed through Paul's up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the west side of Paul's, through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging, through many straits, where I called to remembrance that strait is the way to heaven; and it is in a tower right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of Paul's, eight feet in breadth and thirteen of length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening towards the east, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them." Here he was searched narrowly by the keeper and his assistant; but he was able to conceal some written memorandums he had about him. The passages in the interior of the present Cathedral may remind us of Philpot's narrative; but the remote corners of this noble pile of building are not now used as places of imprisonment for the saints of the Most High.

The principal topics wherein the Church of Rome has erred from the true faith were more or less noticed during Philpot's examinations. Upon the point of unity, for which Romanists so earnestly contend, and their assertions that there is no salvation except in the pale of their church, Philpot thus expressed himself: "You say you are of the true Church, and we say we are of the true Church. You say that whoever is out of *your* Church is damned; and we think, verily, on the other side, that if we depart from the true Church (of Christ), wherein we are grafted in God's Word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your lordship can bring any better authority for your Church than we can do for ours (the Church of Christ), and prove by the Scriptures that the Church of Rome, of which you are, is the *true Catholic Church*, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold; and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, as you say; and that the same Church, as you pretend, hath authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth good to her, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only, I shall be as conformable to the same Church as you may desire me, which otherwise I dare not. Therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this." This they promised to do, but were utterly unable to succeed; and though they produced some passages from the ancient

fathers in support of their assertions, Philpot easily confuted them from the same authorities; and as to the *universality* of their Church, he reminded them that two parts of the world, Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy claimed by the Bishop of Rome.

On another occasion, Bonner found fault with Philpot because he had written in one of his books, "In me, John Philpot, where sin did abound, grace hath more abounded." Philpot reproved the prelate's ignorance of Scripture by reminding him that it was the saying of St. Paul, and that he did apply it to himself for his comfort, knowing that, "though his sins were huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all." But it is impossible to give even an imperfect sketch of these examinations; suffice it to say, that Philpot did indeed "play the man" throughout them all; he bore their taunts unmoved, and met their reasonings with stronger arguments; at the same time not arrogating any pre-eminence to himself for his superiority in learning, but taking his stand on firm ground; as he himself said, "I boast of no knowledge, but of faith and of Christ; and that I am bound to know, as sure I do."

At length, on the 16th of December, Bonner plainly told Philpot that men said they would burn no more heretics since Gardiner was dead, but he should soon be despatched to show the contrary. The articles against him were then produced: they charged him with several false and blasphemous opinions; a frequent practice among the Romanists, when accusing the Lollards and Protestants. These Philpot disavowed, asking whether his lordship was not ashamed to charge him with such falsities. Bonner then proceeded to give sentence, in the first place reciting a prayer entreating Divine light! Philpot was charged with having fallen from the unity of the Church, with having alleged that the mass was idolatry, and with denying the *real presence* of Christ's body in the sacrament. While Bonner was reading the sentence, Bourne, the bishop of Bath, stopped him, and said, "My lord, inquire whether he will recant." This was usually done, as evidence of their pretended reluctance to condemn! In this instance Bonner showed his real spirit, replying, "Oh, let him alone," and read the remainder of the sentence without stopping.

Philpot was then carried to Newgate, where Alexander, the cruel keeper, ordered him to be loaded with as many fetters as he could bear, and sent him down to a dungeon. The sheriff, being apprized of this unnecessary cruelty, sent orders to the keeper to handle him more gently. With this message Alexander very reluctantly complied, threatening to complain to the bishops of the sheriff's interference. The next evening, Philpot was informed that the writ for his

burning was issued. "I am ready," said he; "God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection!" He then retired, and prayed earnestly, blessing God that he had made him worthy to suffer for the truth.

At eight o'clock in the morning the sheriffs called for Philpot. He went down to them with much joy. His faithful servant watched for this opportunity to bid him farewell. They led the martyr towards Smithfield; the way was miry, and two officers took him in their arms to bear him to the stake. "What," said he, merrily, "will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot!" As he entered Smithfield, he kneeled down, and said, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield." He kissed the stake, and added, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a vile death upon the cross for me?" Having repeated the 106th, 107th, and 108th Psalms, and distributed money among the officers, he was bound to the stake, and patiently endured martyrdom. The people manifested much concern at his sufferings; in consequence of which, a letter was written from the council to the lord-mayor, ordering that persons should be appointed to attend the execution of heretics, to apprehend any who should "comfort, aid, or praise them."

We may now refer to some other events which occurred during the latter part of this year. Strype mentions that, on the 3d of August, the queen went abroad, for the first time after she had given up the expectation of becoming a mother. On this occasion, a beggar, who pretended to be lame, threw away his crutches and ran after her majesty. The paltry trick was rewarded, and was reported as a miracle, to impress the common people with an opinion of something extraordinary in the queen. It may remind us of some of the *princely* miracles of modern date, if the tales respecting Prince Hohenloe are not already forgotten.

The 4th of September was kept as a strict fast by the queen and all the court, to qualify them for receiving the pope's jubilee and pardon. This was proclaimed at St. Paul's on the 15th, with the declaration that all who availed themselves of this indulgence should "receive clean remission of all their sins that ever they did." But it appeared as though the heavens frowned on our unhappy land: heavy rains poured down, almost without ceasing, for six months, and unprecedented inundations took place, the forerunners of the pestilence and famine* which, more or less, raged during the remainder of this miserable reign.

* Beef was sold at fourpence a pound; a sheep was worth twenty shillings; wheat sixty-four shillings a quarter; prices almost incredible, when the vast difference in the value of money at the present time is considered. In many places, the poor were obliged to use a sort of bread made of acorns. In Oxford, the fellows and scholars of several of the poorer colleges were directed to return home till provisions should become more reasonable.

Coverdale has drawn a striking picture of the sufferings of the professors of the Gospel at this period. He says, "Many were imprisoned in dungeons, ugly holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners;" others loaded with fetters and chains, so that they could scarcely stir; some fastened in the stocks with their legs upward, and their necks secured to the wall with iron collars; sometimes one leg or hand in the stocks, and the others out, and without stool or stone to sit upon, to ease their tormented bodies; others kept in what were called Skeffington's gyves, a frame of iron by which their bodies were almost bent double. Many suffered from a want of sufficient sustenance; they were, in several instances, starved to death, their persecutors frequently boasting that they would compel these suffering saints "to eat their fingers' ends for hunger." Their friends, on the other hand, were equally watchful to succour the poor prisoners, and to convey food and money whenever they could find opportunity. "All these torments," says Coverdale, "and many more, were practised by papists; the stout, sturdy soldiers of Satan thus delighting in variety of tyranny and torments upon the saints of God, as is full well, and too well known; and as many can testify who are yet alive, and felt some smart thereof." Although they were not allowed the use of pen, ink, or paper, they found means to convey to their friends some memorials of their steadfastness in the faith. Sometimes, instead of pens, they used small pieces of lead pulled from the window, and the want of ink was supplied by their own blood. Some of their letters so written—literally the memorials of a *bloody* reign—are referred to by the accurate annalists of those sad times.

The brethren who went about secretly encouraging the professors in the faith were strictly sought for. The Word of God was indeed precious in those days, and the followers of Christ assembled together whenever they could find opportunity. The members of these little congregations were frequently apprehended while thus engaged, but still they continued to meet together.

When the ministers of the Word had been driven away or cut off, some of the laity who were able used to supply their place. Strype mentions, in particular, a bricklayer, named Daunce, who lived in Whitechapel, and used to preach the Gospel in his garden every holyday to all who ventured to attend; and, as we proceed, we shall find several others are noticed.

Many tracts and other small publications, addressed to the persecuted flock of Christ, were printed abroad by Coverdale and others, and privately circulated in England. A Romish member of Parliament wrote, "It is said here are divers *ill* books cast by night about the city, that have been conveyed

from beyond the seas." The persons who engaged in this work were strictly sought after; and, to check their proceedings, the Stationers' Company was incorporated early in the ensuing year. Their charter stated that they were incorporated for the special purpose of checking heretical works, and unusual power was given to them to search for and seize all publications against Romanism.

It has been mentioned, that on the 1st of January in this year, a minister, named *Rose*, was taken in a house in Bow-churchyard, with many of his congregation. Although several of his people were burned, he himself was preserved, and was living at Luton when Fox wrote. *Rose* had long been known as a Gospeller, which made his preservation the more remarkable. He was brought to the knowledge of the truth by the preaching of Latimer, and was the means of converting many in Suffolk by his sermons against idolatry and other popish doctrines. King and his companions, who burned the image at Dover-court in 1532, were among his constant hearers, and the Romanists at that time were eager for his destruction. He was sent to London, and confined for many months in Bishop Langley's house in Holborn, being kept in the stocks for several weeks; at which time his sufferings were very severe, for he was laid with his back upon the ground, while his feet were raised up. At length Cranmer interposed and caused him to be set at liberty, and he returned to his work, preaching in Suffolk, Lincolnshire, and other counties. When the act of the *Six Articles* was in force, the papists again sought for him, and orders were issued to put him to death as soon as he could be found. For a time he took refuge on the Continent, but he returned to England, and, during the reign of King Edward, was made minister of West Ham. On the accession of Queen Mary he was deprived of his benefice, but continued to preach secretly in London during the early part of her reign.

On his first examination, Bishop Gardiner told Mr. *Rose* he had long sought for him, and would now find out who had protected him, "or else," to use his own expressive words, "he would make him a foot longer," referring to the torture of the rack. He was then accused of having prayed at Norwich, that God would turn the heart of Queen Mary, or take her out of the world. This he denied, and the Romish bishops did not urge it farther. After some time he was sent to Norwich, to be examined by the Romish prelate of that diocese. "What sayest thou to the real presence in the sacrament?" was, as usual, the inquiry.

On his second examination the bishop said, "Ah, sirrah, you will admit nothing but Scripture." *Rose's* answer is worthy of record: "No, truly, my lord, I admit nothing but Scripture for the guidance of the soul; for why? 'Faith

cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God, and where the Word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given. For whatsoever is not of faith is sin." This was enough: "they left off speaking any more of that matter!"

During his examination, he acted with great steadfastness as well as prudence, always refusing to admit any doctrine or assertion contrary to the Scriptures, yet being careful, as he says, "that they should have none occasion to judge me of obstinacy." At that time the queen was supposed to be dangerously ill; which, with the age and great popularity of this venerable minister, made the Romanists of Norwich unwilling just then to put him publicly to death. The bishop, therefore, pretended to believe that Rose would return to their faith, and deferred examining him farther till he should return from a visitation then about to commence. He also said that he regretted the expense which Rose incurred while in custody, and wished some friend would receive him during his absence. Sir William Wodehouse, who was very partial to Rose, hearing this, offered to provide meat, drink, and lodging for him, to which the bishop consented. Sir William treated Rose very kindly; and the papists reported that he had entered into bonds to produce him when required. On Sir William's return from a short absence, Rose inquired whether this was the case: finding the contrary, he asked whether he might visit his friends. "Go where you will," said Sir William; "I told the bishop I would not be your jailer, but only provide you with meat, drink, and lodging." Rose then consulted with his friends, and they conveyed him to a place of concealment. On the bishop's return, he caused a general search to be made for the prisoner: this being unsuccessful, he consulted a conjurer! Rose, however, escaped to London, and from thence was conveyed to Germany, where he continued till the death of the queen.

Bonner's declaration that heretics should be burned although Gardiner was dead, was soon confirmed. On the 27th of January, 1556, seven martyrs were burned in Smithfield; two of the number were females. Their accusations specified that they were baptized in the Catholic religion, but departed from the unity of the Church, refusing to come to mass, and denying the real presence in the sacrament. The following is a brief account of these sufferers for the truth: THOMAS WHITTLE was a priest, in the county of Essex, and preached the Gospel faithfully during King Edward's reign. On the accession of Queen Mary, he was expelled from his cure for being married; and then travelled about from place to place, seeking opportunities for preaching the Gospel. While thus occupied, one of the Romish informers apprehended him, and he was carried before Bonner. His first

interview with this persecutor of the saints was described by Whittle himself in a letter he contrived to transmit to a friend.

On the 10th of January he was brought before the bishop, having been confined all night in the porter's lodge, lying upon the ground, although very ill. Bonner, as usual, argued respecting the sacrament of the altar, and asked whether he would have come to mass if he had been sent for. Whittle replied that he would have come to his lordship wherever he had been sent for; but as to the mass, he had small affection for it. At this reply the bishop angrily said that he should be kept on bread and water, and struck him violently with his fist, first on one cheek, and then on the other, ordering him to be taken away. Whittle was then led to a small place used for storing salt, where he was confined for two days and nights, without even straw to lie upon. A few days afterward Harpsfield persuaded him to sign a general declaration against all heresies and errors; but, knowing what this implied, from that moment he felt, as he expressed it, "a hell in his conscience." The next morning he sent for Harpsfield, and obtained leave to tear off his name; and on the 14th he was condemned. He thus described his feelings in a letter written in the Coal-house: "They did assault me, and craftily tempt me to their wicked ways, or at least to the denying of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour and dissimulation. And, alas! in some degree they prevailed. Not that I did at all like their opinions and false, papistical religion, or doubted of the truths wherein I stand, but the infirmity of the flesh beguiled me to desire liberty by unlawful means. God lay it not to my charge at that day; and so I heartily desire you to pray. Howbeit, I trust profit came thereby to me, in that God suffered Satan to buffet me by his foresaid minister of mischief, and showing me mine infirmity, that I should not boast or rejoice in myself, but only in the Lord; who, when he had led me to hell in my conscience, through the apprehension of his fearful judgments, for my fearfulness, mistrust, and crafty cloaking in such spiritual and weighty matters, yet he brought me from thence again, to the magnifying of his name." How different his case from that of Gardiner!

BARTLET GREEN was the son of a gentleman of respectability; he had studied at Oxford, where he was brought to the knowledge of the truth while attending upon the divinity lectures of Peter Martyr. He afterward entered at the Temple to study the law. He continued steadfast in the profession of the Gospel, and was much esteemed for his Christian conduct. Towards the end of 1555, a messenger was intercepted on his way to the Continent with several letters to the exiles abroad from their friends here. One of these was

from Green. Being the writer of a letter to an exile was enough to bring him into trouble, and the persecutors availed themselves of the following pretext: his friend had written to inquire the truth of a report then current abroad, that the queen was near her end. Green merely replied, "The queen is not dead." For this he was arrested as a traitor; but when once apprehended, he was accused of heresy, and went through the usual forms of examination. Before the final sentence was pronounced, he urged strongly to Bonner the words of Augustine, that "no man should be put to death for his opinions."

It was mentioned that Bonner buffeted Whittle in the face with his fists. Green was severely scourged, and beaten with rods by this persecutor.

THOMAS BROWN was an artificer, of St. Bride's parish. The constable informed against him for not attending at church; and his examinations and sentence were similar to those already mentioned.

JOHN TUDSON was also of the city of London, and condemned in the usual manner.

JOHN WEST was a shearman by trade; he was sent from Essex, and condemned with the individuals already named.

ISABEL FOSTER was also of the parish of St. Bride's, and was apprehended for not attending her parish church.

JOAN LASHFORD was the daughter of Elizabeth, Warne. Like her mother and father-in-law, she was condemned principally through the means of Dr. Story, who, as already mentioned, was a relative or near connexion. Though not more than twenty years of age, she was enabled to witness a good confession against the whole body of popish errors.

These seven martyrs suffered together in Smithfield with much constancy.

On the 31st of January, four women and one man were burned at Canterbury. JOHN LOMAS, of the parish of Tenterden, was condemned in the usual manner. AGNES SNOTH, a widow, of Smarden, was examined several times before the Romish commissioners. In addition to the common topics, she was questioned respecting her opinion of penance, which she denied to be a sacrament. ANN ALLBRIGHT, JOAN SOLE, and JOAN CATMER, the widow of George Catmer, who suffered in September, 1555, were condemned in like manner. These five martyrs were burned at two stakes, but in one fire. While the flames were raging around them, they continued to sing psalms, and manifested such faith and patience as deeply affected Sir John Norton, who was ordered to be present.

Burnet examined the original minute-book of the Privy Council during this reign, and states that a great part of its business was to push forward the persecution. Letters were

written to the principal persons in different counties, requiring them to assist in the execution of those who suffered for heresy, and personally to attend on these occasions. Letters of thanks were also written to those who assisted in discovering and apprehending heretics, and directions were given *to torture* such as refused to discover their companions! In one day, letters were written to the sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, and to the mayors of several towns, inquiring why they delayed to execute the persons delivered to them by the Romish prelates. Such was the employment of the English ministers of state in "the Days of Queen Mary!"

CHAPTER X.

Cranmer and many others are burned.—A blind Man and a Cripple, a blind Boy and several Women burned.—Thirteen Martyrs burned in one Fire.—A.D. 1556.



Cranmer hurried to execution by the papists. (See p. 183.)

AFTER having recorded the sufferings of so many followers of the truth, it is not surprising that we have to add to the list that distinguished Reformer, THOMAS CRANMER, archbishop of Canterbury. He was a chosen servant of God in our land, being the main instrument in opposing popery and promoting the Reformation, both under Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth. For this he has been marked as a principal object of the contumely so plentifully cast by Romish writers upon all who differ from their communion. But if we examine the particulars of the history of Cranmer, as recorded by impartial historians, and duly consider the disadvantages under which he laboured, from the papistical education he had received and the times in which he lived, we shall be satisfied that his character has been basely traduced, and that we are deeply indebted to him (under God) for the spiritual light and liberty we now enjoy.

Queen Mary had resolved upon the destruction of Cran-

mer; her bigotry could not allow such a main pillar of the Reformation to remain, although, at a former period, *he had saved her life* (see p. 3). With the casuistry so common in the Church of Rome, she reconciled her conscience to this base ingratitude by forgiving him the charge of treason, of which he was not so guilty as many of her prime favourites, although he had been tried and condemned, while they were suffered to pass unquestioned. Thus she considered herself to stand acquitted towards him, although she took care that he should be detained and burned as a heretic!

We have already seen that the crooked policy of Gardiner was the means of preserving Cranmer's life for some time. He did not wish to see Pole possessed of the See of Canterbury, although he could not desire to shield Cranmer from the consequences of his opposition to Romanism; and the venerable archbishop was kept a prisoner at Oxford, while the proceedings against him went slowly forward. On the 19th of September, 1555, Cranmer was brought before the commissioners who had condemned Ridley and Latimer. Bishop Brooks, the chief of them, was seated upon a lofty throne, at the east end of St. Mary's Church, under the sacrament of the altar, which, as usual, was suspended in a box over his head. Cranmer, like his brethren, refused to acknowledge the authority of the pope. Being exhorted to repent of his heresy, and to return to the Church, with other similar advice, he kneeled down and repeated the Lord's Prayer; then rising, he declared his faith, and the doctrines he maintained. When speaking of the pope's authority, he thus expressed himself: "*Alas! what hath the pope to do in England, whose jurisdiction is so far different from the jurisdiction of this realm, that it is impossible to be true to the one and true to the other? their laws, also, are so different, that whosoever sweareth to both must needs incur perjury to one.*" Cranmer had lived under both, and therefore was able to discriminate between them. He then showed how the Romish laws screened even the greatest malefactors from justice, if they were ecclesiastics. He also referred to Alexander III., who compelled the Emperor Frederic I. to lie prostrate before him, while he placed his foot upon his neck;* adding, that the popes had brought in gods of their own framing, and invented a new religion, full of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of Scripture, and only for the maintaining of their kingdom; boasting many times in their decrees that they can dispense with the precepts of Peter and of Paul, and of those both of the Old and New Testaments, and that

* The pope, on this occasion, applied to himself a passage of Scripture, saying, "It is written, Thou shalt walk upon the asp and basilisk, and shalt tread upon the lion and dragon." The emperor replied, that he did not humble himself to the pope, but to St. Peter. "Nay," said the haughty pontiff, "both to me and to Peter."

of the fulness of their power they may do as much as God. Cranmer added, "O Lord, who ever heard such blasphemy? If there be any man that can advance himself above him, let him be judged antichrist. The enemy of God and of our redemption is so evidently pointed out in the Scriptures by such manifest signs and tokens, which so clearly appear in him (the pope), that except a man will shut his eyes and heart against the light, he cannot but know him." But we need not follow the archbishop through his able defence. He reminded Brooks of his inconsistency in sitting there as the servant of the pope, when he had renounced his authority; and declared allegiance to the late king. This was retorted by an observation, that Cranmer was the cause of the pope's supremacy being rejected. The martyr immediately stated that it had been done by Archbishop Warham, nearly a year before his decease; consequently, before Cranmer was appointed to the primacy.* Brooks only replied, "We came to examine you, and methinks you examine us!"

We need not go through these examinations minutely. Dr. Martin, a Romanist, identifying our Lord with the consecrated wafer, and referring to Cranmer's opposition to that idolatry, represented him as using language similar to that of Satan, when he desired our Lord to cast himself down from the pinnacle of the temple (Matt., iv., 6). A brief specimen of the arguments employed will suffice: "If you mark the devil's language well," said Dr. Martin, "it agrees with your proceedings most truly. Down with the sacrament, down with the mass, down with the altars, down with the arms of Christ, and up with the lion and dog (the royal arms set up in churches), down with the abbeys, down with the chantries, down with the hospitals and colleges, down with fasting and prayer, yea, down with all that good and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tend to no other but to fulfil the devil's request; and therefore tell us not that ye have God's Word." The archbishop returned not railing for railing, but allowed this storm of words to pass unnoticed.

The accusation against him was then read. It charged Cranmer with having married a wife, with having written heretical books, and with having publicly maintained heresies at Oxford (in the disputation in which he was compelled to bear a part: see chapter iii.), with various other articles. "This he granted, affirming that it was better for him to have a wife of his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives." When examining him on this subject, Martin said that Cranmer's children were bondmen or *slaves* to the See of Canterbury! At which the archbishop smiled,

* See Wilkins's Concilia, and various historical works. When we find Brooks asserting this falsity, even in Cranmer's presence, we are not surprised that modern Romish writers should repeat it.

and asked if a priest had bastards by his concubine, whether they were slaves to his benefice, adding, that he hoped they would not make his children's case worse.

The commissioners then required him to obey a citation from the pope, by which Cranmer was summoned to appear in person before the pope, at Rome, within eighty days from that time.

He was a prisoner, but stated his willingness to go thither, even as the apostle was sent to Rome, if the king and queen would permit. He also wrote to the queen, forcibly pointing out some of the leading errors of Romanism, and stating his desire to appear at Rome, if she would allow; trusting "that God would put it in his mouth to defend his truth there as well as here." The citation was a mere mockery; Cranmer was kept in close confinement! When the eighty days were expired, the archbishop was condemned at Rome as contumacious and obstinate, because he did not appear! On December the 4th, the See of Canterbury was declared vacant; on the 11th, Cardinal Pole was appointed to direct the concerns of the archbishopric; and, as Jewel relates, Cranmer was burned in effigy at Rome!

The pope's decree was received in England about the middle of February. Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and Bonner, bishop of London, were sent to Oxford to condemn Cranmer. They first read their commission, which stated that the articles laid to his charge had been carefully examined at Rome, the witnesses and counsel heard on both sides, and that the accused wanted nothing needful for his defence! Cranmer could not hear this recital without exclaiming, "What lies be these, to say that I, who was kept here a close prisoner, allowed neither witness nor counsel, should produce witnesses and appoint counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." A hint which might be suggested to the notice of some modern Romish writers! But a salvo for all defects was at hand: the commissioners produced another commission, granted by the pope, in the fulness of his authority, excusing all defects in the law, or in the proceedings against Cranmer; directing them to proceed to condemn him, and deliver him over to the secular power! Such is the use of the pope's infallibility!*

They then dressed up Cranmer in garments made after the fashion of those worn by the Romish priests; but instead of the usual rich materials, they were made of "canvass and old cloutes," in mockery of his former high rank. The ceremony of degradation proceeded. Bonner behaved with his

* This document, grounded upon falsehood, and full of untruths, commenced by a declaration, that "Pope Paul IV., sitting in the throne of justice, and having before his eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness, decreed that Thomas Cranmer was wholly unmindful of the health of his soul," &c.

customary brutality; while Thirleby, who had formerly been on intimate terms with the archbishop, and was appointed to this office by one of those refinements of cruelty so common in the history of the Romish Church, in vain endeavoured to check the abusive language of his associate by reminding him of his promise to that effect. When they came to take the crosier staff from the archbishop, Cranmer refused to relinquish that ensign of his spiritual and pastoral charge over the flock of Christ, and produced a written appeal to the next general council. It was disregarded; and they proceeded in their form of degradation. Cranmer said, "*All this was unnecessary; I had myself done with this gear long ago.*" They then clothed him in a beadle's gown, old and threadbare; while Bonner, with brutal glee, exclaimed, "Now you are My Lord no more;" and he was delivered over to the bailiffs for execution.

Cranmer was taken back to prison. A gentleman of Gloucestershire followed him; and, finding him destitute and actually penniless condition, was about to give him some money; but, recollecting that persons had formerly suffered for relieving others in the like case, he gave the money to the bailiffs, and said, that if they were good men, they would apply it in relieving his wants. For this, Bonner and Thirleby caused the gentleman to be apprehended, and were with difficulty persuaded to allow him to be liberated.

And now we have to notice a part of Cranmer's history which we might wish to pass by, if we only consulted his personal reputation. But Cranmer himself would not desire this: he would rather that his errors stood prominent, as beacons to warn others from making shipwreck of their faith, and to encourage them when nearly swallowed up of death and desperation, as was his case, to turn to that great High Priest who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities.

Finding Cranmer proof against their cruel treatment and threatenings, the papists tried the effects of gentler conduct; for, though the queen had resolved upon his death, they knew, by experience, that the Romish religion would receive a deep wound if Cranmer died openly bearing testimony against them. He was now removed from prison to the house of the dean of Christ Church, surrounded with those who professed to esteem him, and treated with all outward kindness. His life and restoration to his see, or a quiet retirement if he preferred it, were promised to him if he would but subscribe a paper renouncing his opposition to Romanism; and he was told that he might dictate this in almost any way he pleased. This plan was formed on an accurate estimate of the gentle spirit of Cranmer, and his willingness to avoid all political proceedings. Accordingly, he consented to sign the following declaration: "Forasmuch as the

king and queen's majesties, by consent of their parliament, have received the pope's authority within this realm, I am content to submit myself to their laws herein, and to take the pope for chief head of this Church of England, so far as God's laws, and the laws and customs of this realm, will permit." But this was not sufficient; he was gradually induced to sign five other and stronger declarations. They are inserted in Strype's Memorials from the copies published by the Romanists themselves.*

While we faithfully record this sad instance of human frailty, we may consider it as suffered to take place for a warning to others. Oh, let us beware how we tamper with anything contrary to the Word of God, and fancy that it can be reconciled with the profession of the Gospel!

Mary and her counsellors rejoiced at this proof of infirmity in Cranmer; but she determined not to relax from her bloody purpose. In this resolution she was strengthened by the counsels of Pole, as well as the advice of King Philip and his Spanish ecclesiastics. Accordingly, the writ for Cranmer's execution was issued, and Dr. Cole was ordered to prepare a sermon for the occasion. The victim was kept ignorant of his impending fate, for they hoped that he might be induced to die with a falsehood in his mouth. On the 26th of March, Cole visited Cranmer, and asked if he adhered to the writing he had subscribed. Early the next morning he came again, and gave Cranmer some money, telling him it was to bestow upon the poor, and he was told to prepare to be present at a public sermon. These circumstances caused the archbishop to suspect the designs of his enemies; and having already felt some taste of the bitter pains experienced by those who have not stood firm in the faith, he quickly turned to Him whose compassions fail not, and wrote down a declaration of his faith in the truths of the Gospel. The Spanish friars, who had frequently been with Cranmer during his imprisonment, then came and told him it would be necessary to repeat in public the recantation he had signed. Before noon, Lord Williams of Thame, with others of the nobility and gentry, arrived with their train, according to orders from the queen. Cranmer was led by the corporation of Oxford and the Spanish friars to St. Mary's Church, where a vast multitude was assembled. The Romanists rejoiced in the hope of hearing this pillar of the Reformation openly profess his return to popery; while the Protestants also resorted thither, partly fearing these apprehensions would be realized, yet unable entirely to forego

* Shortly after Cranmer's decease, Bonner published these recantations, with an account of the last speech or address delivered by Cranmer. His account of the latter is well known to be absolutely false; and there are several circumstances relative to the six forms of recantation which are very suspicious, so that it is very possible they were not agreed to or signed by Cranmer, at least not the whole of them.

their hope, that he who had so long preached the Gospel to others would not at last himself be a castaway.

As they entered the church, the friars repeated the song of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace," and conducted Cranmer to a stage placed before the pulpit. There the venerable and revered individual, who had lately been the principal subject in England, stood clothed in rags, and condemned to a shameful death! But he stood in firm reliance on his God, though deeply sorrowing in mind for his late conduct. Dr. Cole divided his sermon into three parts: 1st. The mercy of God; 2dly, his justice; 3dly, that the reasons for the conduct of princes are not to be inquired into! This he applied to the present case of Cranmer, openly declaring that he must die, and exhorting him to take his death patiently, reminding him of the dying thief, rejoicing in what he termed his conversion, and promising that masses should be said for the repose of his soul!

Cranmer listened to this exhortation, weeping at the truths it contained. When the sermon was concluded, Cole exhorted him publicly to declare his faith. "I will do it," said the archbishop, "and with a good will." He then drew forth the profession of faith; and imploring forgiveness of God for his past offences, exhorted the people to obedience, and to seek after the good of their souls. He added, "And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than anything I ever said or did in my life, and this is the setting abroad a writing contrary to the truth." Then renouncing all that he had written since his degradation, he said, "Forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished; for when I come to the fire, it shall be first burned!"

Cranmer then declared, "As for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester, which teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament that it shall stand at the last day, before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."*

The by-standers gazed upon Cranmer with astonishment. The Protestants rejoiced to find him steadfast in the faith; the Romanists were filled with wrath and shame that their crafty devices had turned to their utter confusion. They accused him of falsehood and dissimulation; and when he began to speak farther against popery, Cole and his fellows cried out, "Stop the heretic's mouth and take him away!"

* In the account already noticed as published by his enemies, Bofner had the effrontery to represent Cranmer as saying, "Renouncing all those books, and whatsoever in them is contained, I say and believe that our Saviour Christ Jesus is really and substantially contained in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine."

They pulled him down from the stand and led him to the stake, which was prepared at the place where Ridley and Latimer had suffered; his enemies abused him as he wept along, and the preparations were soon completed. After a short prayer, Cranmer put off his clothes, and repelling the Spanish friars, who continued to beset him, gave his hand to some aged men, and others that stood by. He offered it to one Ely, who drew back, saying that it was not lawful to salute heretics! He was now chained to the stake, and the fire kindled. As the flame approached, Cranmer extended his right arm; and thrusting his hand into the flames, held it there unmoved, except once wiping his face with it, so that all might see that hand consumed before his body was touched. At length the fire surrounded him, but he continued as unmoved as the stake to which he was bound; directing his eyes towards heaven, often exclaiming, "Unworthy right hand!" and repeating the dying words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" till he expired.*

The Spanish friar, John, wondering at this fortitude, ran to Lord Williams, and said that the archbishop died in great desperation. His lordship knew better, and rebuked the folly of the friar by a smile! When the ashes were removed, Cranmer's heart was found entire and unconsumed. What an excellent subject for a Romish miracle, had he died a papist! Burnet observes, "Would not that Church have blazoned it abroad, as a proof that his heart continued true, though his hand had erred?" Thus died Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, far more worthy of the title of a saint than his predecessor, Thomas à Becket. The death he suffered had long been set before him as the probable end of his course. Henry the Eighth changed Cranmer's coat of arms, directing him to bear three pelicans, feeding their young with their blood; telling him, as it is said, that he was likely to suffer in like manner, "if he stood to his tackling."

The very next day after the burning of Cranmer, Cardinal Pole was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury; upon which some one, that night, wrote upon the gates of Lambeth Palace, "Hast thou killed and taken possession?" It was a deed similar to that of Ahab. Pole had long directed the affairs of the English Church, both as legate from the pope, and as the chief ecclesiastical authority in the land; but while Cranmer lived, he did not receive the title of primate. On Sunday, the 22d of March, the cardinal was consecrated archbishop, in the church belonging to the Franciscan friars at Greenwich. He took the oath of obedience to the pope, in the presence of Queen Mary, who gave him large addi-

* The charges for burning Cranmer are thus recorded in the book already mentioned: for a hundred wood fagots, 6s. 8d.; for a hundred and half of furze fagots, 3s. 4d.; for the carriage of them, 8d.; to two labourers, 1s. 4d.

tional revenues, that he might be better able to maintain the pomp and state of a Romish legate and prelate. In the latter end of this year Pole was also appointed chancellor of the University of Oxford, and the two Spanish friars Soto and Garcia were nominated professors of divinity.

New commissions were this year issued against those who were styled "devilish and clamorous" heretics, and visitations of many of the dioceses were ordered.* On this occasion, one of the canons of Canterbury preached from Gen., xxxvii., 14: "Go and see if all be well with the flocks, and bring me word again." Among many superstitious and trifling observances commanded to be inquired into in each parish, orders were given to examine whether the names of Thomas à Becket, and of "our lord the pope, be restored to former honour," and whether they had a rood (or image of Christ on the cross) in the church, of decent stature, with Mary and John, and the image of the patron (saint) of the church.†

These proceedings were not uncalled for. It is true that the chief Reformers were burned, or driven to foreign countries, but many Protestants yet survived; the goodliest of the cedars had been felled, yet much underwood still remained: the feller was gone up against God's heritage, and he not only cut down the choicest of the trees, but sought to destroy the tender saplings, which sprang up on every side.

The female sex, at this time, were especially called "to glorify God in the fires." Two were burned at Ipswich. These were AGNUS POTTEN and JOAN TRUNCHFIELD. The sacrament of the altar was made the test of their obedience to the Church of Rome. Their constancy at the stake was remarkable: when ready for the fire, they repeated many passages of Scripture, earnestly exhorting the people to cleave to the Word of God, and not to follow the superstitious ordinances and inventions of the Romish antichrist. Joan Trunchfield, while in prison, appeared less zealous for the truth than her companion; but when brought to the stake,

* Strype relates some particulars respecting the visitation of the diocese of Lincoln, which show the strictness with which people were called to account for mere words. It presents an affecting view of the deplorable ignorance in which the lower class of people were kept, by the want of spiritual instructors, and also proves the great immorality which then prevailed!

† This injunction, that the rood should be "of decent stature," was not always unnecessary. At Cockeram (Cockermouth), the priest and church-wardens engaged with a carver to supply them with one of these idols, but disliking his workmanship, they refused to pay for it when done. He summoned them before the Mayor of Lancaster, who inquired the reason why they refused payment. "Sir," said they, "the rood we had formerly was a well-favoured man, but this gapes and grins in such a manner that our children are afraid to look at him!" The mayor, who was secretly a favourer of the Gospel, thought the image quite good enough for the purpose intended, and ordered them to pay the money and go home; adding, "if they did not think it would serve for a god, he recommended them to clap a pair of horns upon its head, and it would make an excellent devil." This was early in the queen's reign, or Master Mayor would doubtless have fallen under the notice of the inquisitors.

out of weakness she was made strong, and, if possible, exceeded her companion in hope and joyful expectation.

A few days before the death of Cranmer, JOHN SPICER, a mason, WILLIAM COBERLEY, a tailor, and JOHN MAUNDREL, a husbandman, three followers of the truth in humble life, were burned at Salisbury. John Maundrel had long been a follower of Christ; his delight was in the law of God, and in his law he meditated day and night. He always carried a Testament with him, although he could not read himself; when he came into company with those who were better learned, his book was produced; and, having a good memory, there were few passages which he could not repeat. He was compelled to do penance in Devizes in the days of Henry the Eighth, and at the commencement of Mary's reign he left his home for some time. At length Maundrel felt desirous to return; and, finding his neighbours joining in a Romish procession, he exhorted them to forsake idols and turn to the living God. The vicar ascended the pulpit and began to pray for the souls in purgatory; upon which Maundrel and two others affirmed that purgatory was the pope's pinfold (or pound). They were of course apprehended, and carried before the Bishop of Salisbury, who repeatedly examined them, usually in private. Their answers were to the point, although, being illiterate men, they expressed themselves in a homely manner. Being questioned as to their opinion respecting the veneration of images, Maundrel replied, that "wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but evil in the Church, seeing they were the occasion of idolatry."*

They were burned in one fire, between Wilton and Salisbury. The wind drove the flame from Coberley. "After his body was scorched, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, the flesh being burned away to the white bone, he stooped over the chain, and with his right hand knocked upon his breast softly, while the blood issued from his mouth; presently, when all thought he was dead, he rose upright again," and so expired.

On the 23d of April, six men of Essex were burned in Smithfield: these were ROBERT DRAKES, a minister; WILLIAM TYMNS, a curate; THOMAS SPURGE, and ROBERT his brother, JOHN CAVEL, and GEORGE AMBROSE, all four employed in the wollen manufacture: their chief offence was absenting themselves from the Romish service. Tymns had preached in the woods, near Hockley, and was apprehended by Justice Tyrrel, a bitter persecutor, to whom the woods belonged, and

* Probably in allusion to Isaiah, xlv., 19. "He burneth part thereof in the fire; he roasteth flesh, and is satisfied; and the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it." Purgatory was called the pope's pinfold, because it was a device of the Church of Rome, and the pope claimed the power of delivering souls from it.

who expressed much anger that they should be defiled by the sermons of the Gospellers.

While examining his prisoner, the justice said, "When I see the blessed rood, it maketh me think of God."* To this common argument of the Romanists, Tymns replied, "Sir, if an idol that is made with men's hands makes you remember God, how much more ought the creatures of God, as man, being his workmanship, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God." Tyrrel burst out into a rage; and calling him a traitorly knave, sent him to the Romish bishops. He was examined before Bourne and Bonner. As Fox expresses it, both the bishops waxed weary of him, for he "troubled them" six or seven hours. He was also carried before Gardiner, who, seeing him in a homely garb, the dress in which he was taken being a layman's coat, and common hose of undyed wool, "Ye are decked like a deacon," said the proud prelate, ironically. "My lord," replied Tymns, "my vesture doth not much vary from that of a deacon, but methinketh your apparel varies as much from that of an apostle." He was sent back to Bonner, and, after an imprisonment of some months, and repeated examinations, was condemned. While in confinement, he wrote to one of his flock. In this letter he says, "I go on

* A leading modern author among Romanists, speaking of the veneration for images and pictures commended by his church, says, "That they help to instruct the ignorant; and hopes, that if such things are seen in his oratory or study, he shall not be accounted an idolater, as 'his faith and devotion stand in need of such memorials.'" He adds, "I am but too apt to forget what my Saviour has done and suffered for me; but the sight of his representation often brings this to my memory, and affects my best sentiments."—See *End of Religious Controversy*, p. 256.

Blanco White has related the manner in which these representations are introduced in Spain. Let it be remembered, that he describes what he has himself seen. When the reader has perused the following description of some of the things which are thus venerated, surely he cannot but reflect what sort of "faith and devotion" that must be which can be assisted by such memorials. Mr. White says:

"The representation of the Deity in the form of a child is very common in Spain. The number of little figures, about a foot high, called Nino Dios (Child God) or Nino Jesus (Child Jesus) is nearly equal to that of nuns in most convents. The nuns dress them in all the variety of the national costume, such as clergymen, canons in their robes, doctors of divinity in their hoods, physicians in their wigs and gold-headed canes, &c., &c. The Nino Jesus is often seen in private houses; and in some parts of Spain, where contraband trade is the main occupation of the people, it is seen in the dress of a smuggler, with a brace of pistols at his girdle, and a blunderbuss leaning on his arm!"

The *Gazette des Tribunaux* (a French paper), of the 18th of February, 1827, contains a decree passed by the court royal of Bourges, on the following occasion: M. Gobin, a merchant of Sancerre, was employed in shooting partridges, when some of his shot struck a statue of the Virgin Mary, which had been erected by a private individual. The tribunal of Sancerre condemned the sportsman for this crime to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 600 francs, conformably to the law relating to sacrilege. The court royal of Bourges, on appeal, annulled this judgment, on account of defective proof, and the irreproachable character of M. Gobin; but the preface to its decree is as follows: "This crime is one of those which ought to be regarded with the greatest horror in a country where the only true religion, the Catholic, is the religion of the state; that the profanation of the image of the mother of our divine Saviour ought to be punished with the greatest severity," &c. Such is modern popery where it has power, even in a country which cannot be considered one of the most bigoted.

Friday next to the Bishop of London's Coal-house, where it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. Howbeit, I shall not tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear brethren and sisters, which are gone before me, to heaven in a fiery chariot. Therefore I now take my leave till we meet in heaven, and do you follow after." This letter ended with his name and these words, written in his own blood: "Continue in prayer—ask in faith, and obtain your desire." In another letter he thus sums up what is elsewhere called "the rabblement of Romish ceremonies:" "It is no new thing to see the true members of Christ handled as in our days they be, as it is not unknown to you how they are cruelly treated and blasphemed, without any reasonable cause. They must be taken for heretics, which follow not *their* traditions. And they then may as well call Christ a heretic, for he never allowed (authorized) their dirty ceremonies. He never went a procession with a cope, cross, or candlestick; He never censed an image, nor sang Latin service; He never sat in confession; He never preached of purgatory, nor of the pope's pardons; He never honoured saints or prayed for the dead; He never said mass, matins, nor even-song; He never commanded to fast on Friday or vigil, Lent nor Advent; He never hallowed church nor chalice, ashes nor palms, candles nor bells; He never made holy water nor holy bread, with such like. But such dumb ceremonies, not having the express command of God, he calleth the leaven of the Pharisees and damnable hypocrisy, admonishing his disciples to beware of them. He curseth all those that add to his Word such beggarly shadows, wiping their names clean out of the Book of Life. St. Paul saith, they have no portion with Christ, which wrap themselves again with such bondage." The companions of Tynms were examined in the usual manner, and also suffered with constancy.

On the 1st of April, JOHN HARPOLE and JOAN BEACH were burned at Rochester. Their examination appears to have been short; they were accused of denying the real presence, and soon condemned.

On the 2d of April, JOHN HULLIER, curate of Lynn, was burned at Cambridge. He had been brought up at Eton, and afterward studied at Cambridge. The Romanists at Lynn accused him to Thirleby, bishop of Ely, upon which he was imprisoned, examined, and condemned. When Hullier was brought to the stake on Maunday Thursday, he entreated the people to pray for him; upon which one of the by-standers said, "The Lord strengthen thee." An officer bade the man hold his tongue, or he should repent of it. While they were taking off a part of the martyr's clothes, he again entreated the people to pray for him, and called upon them to bear witness that he died in the right faith, and that he would seal it

with his blood ; assuring them that he died in a just cause, and for the testimony of the truth, and that there was no rock to build upon except Jesus Christ, under whose banner he fought, and whose soldier he was. A priest named Boys, one of the proctors of the University, called to the mayor to silence him. Hullier submitted to be bound to the stake, and the fire was kindled, but at first it was so ill managed that the flames only reached his back. His friends, seeing this, performed the only kindness in their power, by causing the officers to light another part of the pile. A number of books were then thrown into the fire ; Hullier caught one of them ; it was King Edward's communion service ; and he continued to read the beautiful passages of Scripture contained therein as long as he was able to see. When the flames and smoke had such power that his eyes failed, he pressed the book to his heart, and continued to pray earnestly. Many of the bystanders openly prayed for him, which enraged the papists, who said he ought not to be prayed for ; for that he being a damned man, it could profit him nothing. At last, when he was thought to be dead, his voice was heard to exclaim, " Lord Jesus, receive my spirit ! "

When the pile was consumed and the flames had died away, the remains of the martyr presented a singular spectacle, and showed the peaceful manner in which he had departed. His skeleton remained entire in an upright position, chained to the stake. The crowd prevented his bones from being buried on the spot, as was usual ; they eagerly seized his remains, and divided them among themselves—not to be worshipped as popish relics, but to be preserved as sad memorials of popish cruelty.

Our limits prevent the insertion of his beautiful letters to the Christian congregation ; but one extract may be given : " Let us consider the thing well, and determine with ourselves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way which seemeth here most pleasant, and that the most part of the people take. Surely I judge it to be better to go to school to our master Christ, and to be under his rod, although it seem sharp and grievous, for a time, that at length we may be inheritors with him of everlasting joy, rather than to keep company with the devil's scholars, the adulterous generation, in his school that is full of pleasure for a while, and at the end to be paid with the wages of continual burning in the most horrible lake which burneth evermore with fire and brimstone. What shall then these vain goods and temporal pleasures avail ? Who shall then help when we say incessantly Wo ! wo ! alas ! and well away for unmeasurable pain, grief, and sorrow ? Oh ! let us therefore take heed betimes, and rather be content to take pains in this world, for a time, that we may please God. Our Saviour

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Christ, the true teacher, saith, 'Every branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away' (John, xv.). Oh, how much better it is to go this narrow way with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a time!"

In Essex the persecution continued to rage with undiminished fury. Six martyrs were burned at Colchester on the 28th of April. They were CHRISTOPHER LYSTER, husbandman; JOHN MACE, apothecary; JOHN SPENCER, weaver; SIMON JOYNE, sawyer; RICHARD NICHOLS, weaver; and JOHN HAMMOND, tanner. One of their party, named Grassbrook, stood not in the hour of trial, but turned to Romanism. Bonner seemed now to be weary of long examinations. These men were brought to him at Fulham; he proposed the same articles or inquiries respecting their faith as he had lately proposed to another party. Their answers were recorded, they were condemned, and shortly after sent to Colchester to be burned.

We have now to notice a still more striking instance of Bonner's rage and barbarity.

On the 15th of May, HUGH LAVEROCK, *a cripple, sixty-eight years of age*, and JOHN APRICE, *a blind man*, were carried from Newgate, in a cart, to Stratford-le-Bow, and burned there. They had been accused by some informer, and on the 1st of May were brought before Bonner, who required them to answer to the same accusations which had been brought against others. On the 9th they were publicly examined at St. Paul's. Being questioned respecting the sacrament of the altar, the poor cripple simply replied, "I have confessed, and will stand to mine answers. I cannot find in the Scriptures that the priest should lift over his head a cake of bread." His blind companion added, "The doctrine you set forth and teach is so agreeable to the world, and embraced by it, that it cannot agree with the Scripture of God; and ye are not of the Catholic Church, for ye make laws to kill men." Although deprived of outward sight, surely God the Holy Spirit had given him spiritual light! The bishop, angry at these replies, ordered them to be brought after him to Fulham, whither he was then going, and condemned them the same afternoon. On the 15th they were carried to the place of suffering. When Laverock was chained to the stake, he cast away his crutch; and, comforting his blind companion, said, "Be of good comfort, my brother, for my Lord of London is our good physician; he will heal us both shortly, thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness." Thus they yielded up their souls to God, professing a lively faith in Christ Jesus.

The next day four women were burned in Smithfield. They were from Essex; one of them, CATHERINE HUT, was a widow. JOAN HORNS, ELIZABETH TACKVEL, and MARGARET ELLIS, were maidens. Their answers to the usual questions

showed them to be unlearned and uninstructed, except in the simplest truths of the Gospel. We have just seen that age and infirmity could not protect from the fire, so neither did the weakness of their sex, and their comparative ignorance, preserve these poor females. But "they died more joyfully in the flaming fire than the persecutors in their beds."

This month is indeed worthy of remembrance in the history of her who is emphatically styled "Bloody Mary." To those already mentioned, we have to add THOMAS DROWRY, a blind boy, and THOMAS CROKER, a bricklayer, who were burned at Gloucester. Drowry is mentioned in the account of Bishop Hooper. The registrar of the diocese was present at the last examination of this poor blind boy, and related to Fox that Dr. Williams, the chancellor of the diocese, finding the lad did not believe in transubstantiation, said, "Thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned; but who taught you this heresy?" "You, master chancellor," replied the boy. "Where, I pray thee?" asked the astonished examiner. "Even in yonder place," said the boy, turning towards the pulpit, the position of which he remembered. "When did I teach thee so?" "Upon such a day (naming it), when you preached to all men, as well as to me, a sermon upon the sacrament. You said that the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists had taught." The unblushing apostate replied, "Then do as I do, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning." "Although *you* can mock God, the world, and your conscience," said the boy, "yet will not I do so." "Then God have mercy upon you," said the chancellor, "for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee." "God's will be fulfilled," replied the boy. The registrar being moved with this scene, interposed, exclaiming, "Fy, for shame; will you condemn yourself? Away, and let some one else give sentence and judgment." "No," said the hardened apostate, "I will obey the law, and give sentence myself, according to mine office!" The poor blind boy was then condemned, and suffered accordingly.

Let it be remembered, this scene was related by the registrar himself, who was a principal actor therein. The records of the last few pages require no comment; they completely disprove the Romish assertion, that the martyrs suffered for rebellion against the queen. What could the blind and the lame, and ignorant maidens have done in such a cause? Or, even if their voices had been raised unlawfully, how great the tyranny to visit them with so cruel a death in consequence! Such were "the Days of Queen Mary!"

These scenes were continued. On the 21st of May, THOMAS SPICER, JOHN DENNY, and EDMUND POOLE were burned at Beccles. Spicer was a lad of nineteen, who refused to be present at mass. He was taken from his bed early one

morning, and sent with his companions to a dungeon at Eye. Dunning, the chancellor of Norwich, and Mings, the registrar of the diocese, came to Beccles to examine and condemn them. The chancellor endeavoured earnestly, even with tears, to persuade them to forsake their faith, and delayed to pass sentence till the registrar interposed, requiring him to "rid them out of the way." They were burned the next day; which execution, like many others in this reign, was unlawful even by the bloody laws then in force, as the writ for their execution could not have been sent down so speedily.

Sir John Siliard, hearing them repeat the Apostles' Creed, and say they believed in the Catholic Church, testified his satisfaction; Poole replied, that though they believed in the Catholic Church, it was not the popish church, which was no part of Christ's Catholic Church. After the flames were kindled, they loudly praised God, when a persecutor who stood by called out that a fagot should be thrown, to stop the knaves' breath.

On the 6th of June, four martyrs suffered at Lewes: THOMAS HARTLAND, JOHN OSWALD, THOMAS AVINGTON, and THOMAS REED.

During this month, THOMAS WOOD and THOMAS MILLES also suffered at Lewes; and on the 26th of June, a young man in the employ of a merchant was burned at Leicester.

On the 27th of June, an execution took place, exceeding any of those already related; the pile was indeed deep and large, for THIRTEEN MARTYRS were burned in one fire at Stratford-le-Bow.

They were eleven men, named ADLINGTON, PARMAN, WYE, HALLYWEL, BOWYER, SEARLES, HURST, CAWCH, JACKSON, DERIFALL, and ROUTH; with two women, named ELIZABETH PEPPER and AGNES GEORGE. On the 6th of June they were examined on the usual inquiries. The greater part of them had been apprehended for refusing to attend the Romish service, and one for visiting a prisoner in Newgate. Some were from Essex, and others from London. Cawch was a foreigner, a merchant residing in the city. Elizabeth Pepper was with child; and being asked at the stake why she had not made it known to those who condemned her, she said that they were informed of it! Fox exclaims, "Oh! such be the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischievous murdering of the saints of the Lord, who truly profess Christ crucified, only and alone, for the satisfaction of their sins."

They were carried from Newgate in three carts; and on their arrival at Stratford they were divided, and shut in two rooms. The sheriff came to one party, telling them that their companions had recanted, and advising them to do the same. They refused, answering that their faith was not built

upon man, but upon Christ crucified. He went to the other party with the same lie in his mouth, and received a like answer.

They were then led forth to execution; the men were fastened to three stakes, the women were placed loose in the midst! Strype records that it was calculated nearly *twenty thousand* people were present at this dreadful scene. A large proportion of the crowds that attended on this and similar occasions came to strengthen themselves in case a like death should be their fate afterward, and to exhort and comfort those who suffered.

Three others had been condemned with them; but, from some unknown cause, Cardinal Pole sent a dispensation, ordering their lives to be spared. It was the only instance of the sort during this reign. On the Sunday after their condemnation, Dean Fecknam preached at St. Paul's, and declared that these sixteen persons held sixteen different opinions. The prisoners were then all together in Newgate; hearing of this, they drew up a profession of their belief, refuting the calumnies of their adversaries, and showing that they were all of *one* mind and *one* faith. The same slander was told respecting some others who were prisoners in Bonner's Coal-house, upon which one of them wrote in the name of the rest: "Be assured that we are all of one mind, one faith, and one assured hope in our Lord Jesus. Unto whom, I trust, we all, with one spirit, one brotherly love, do daily pray for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives; by whose precious blood-shedding we alone trust to be saved, and by no other means."

Bonner now seemed for a time to have taken his fill of cruelty, or else he was displeased at Pole's interposition, for he burned no more that year. But similar scenes were exhibited elsewhere.

In the diocese of Litchfield many were persecuted for the faith, and others for not observing the precepts of the Church of Rome; one was compelled to do penance for marrying his wife on the Saturday before Palm Sunday; but these minor sufferings, and the casting out of the dead bodies of those who died in prison, are lost in the greater horrors which claim our attention.

About this period, or rather earlier, some of the Protestants of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk presented a supplication to the commissioners or inquisitors appointed to visit their counties. This valuable and interesting document would suffer from any attempt at abridgment; it stated, at considerable length, the various respects in which the Romish religion, then re-established, is contrary to the Word of God. It is drawn up in very proper language, fully admitting the duty they owed to the queen, as subjects to their

monarch, as already noticed; and they declare they intended not to seek remedy by any unlawful stir or commotion, but that "God must be obeyed rather than man;" and they entreated their "heavenly Father, according to his promise, to hear their cry, to judge between them and their adversaries, to give them faith, strength, and patience, to continue faithfully to the end, and to shorten these evil days, for his elect's sake; and so we faithfully believe he will." Upon the subject of the mass, they set forth the benefits their souls had received from the sacrament ministered in both kinds, "with godly prayers, exhortations, and admonitions, teaching the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of their loving Redeemer Christ;" and strongly contrast it with the mummery of the popish mass. It is unnecessary to add, that this excellent petition was disregarded.

On June the 30th, ROGER BERNARD, ADAM FOSTER, and ROBERT LAWSON suffered at Bury. In Fox the reader will find particulars respecting these martyrs; but the mind becomes weary of perusing these narratives, and in a brief sketch like the present work it is unnecessary to dwell upon all cases. The reader will also find the examinations of *John Fortune*, who was connected with these sufferers: his end is uncertain, but he probably died in prison. During his examination before the Romish bishop of Norwich, that prelate declared that "the pope was God's vicar on earth, and the head of the Church, and had power to forgive sins also;" and compared the pope, "like as a belwether weareth her bell, and is the head of the flock of sheep, so is the pope our head; and as the hive of bees have a master bee, that bringeth the bees to the hive again, so doth our head bring us home again to the true church." Fortune then referred to the circumstance of there having been three popes within seventeen months, two of whom poisoned their predecessors to obtain the see! We have already noticed the subject of the pope's supremacy at some length, and now only remark that the words of the Romish bishop show the high respect paid to the popes, although such infamous characters as they were then notoriously known to be. Romish divines have repeatedly declared that a pope is infallible as to his decrees respecting religion, however vile and criminal his conduct in other respects!

On the 16th of July, JULIUS PALMER, JOHN GWYN, and THOMAS ASKIN were burned at Newbury. Palmer was a native of Coventry, of which city his father had been mayor. He was brought up at the University of Oxford, in which he was noted for his learning and indefatigable application to study. It is remarkable that during King Edward's reign he was a bitter papist, disdaining and despising the preachers of the Gospel, and exposing himself to fines and extra tasks by dis-

obeying the Protestant regulations of the college, which he carried so far that he was at length expelled.

On the accession of Queen Mary he was restored to his fellowship, as a reward for his zealous profession of Romanism. But the Lord met him when a persecutor, and injurious to his Church. The first circumstance which called his serious attention to these things was the patience and fortitude displayed by the Protestants; and the study of Peter Martyr's Commentaries and Calvin's Institutes was the means of farther enlightening his mind. The legends and mummeries of popery became hateful to him; his conduct showed his thoughts, and he was "marked" by the zealous Romanists.

His old acquaintances used to reason with him; one of them said, "Thou art now stout and hardy in thine opinion, but if thou wert brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst tell another tale; I advise thee to beware of the fire; it is a shrewd (serious) matter to burn." Palmer replied, that he was thankful for having hitherto escaped, but judged that it would be his end at last; adding, "Welcome be it, by the grace of God. Indeed, it is a hard thing for them to burn that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in fetters; but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is not more difficult to burn than for me to eat this piece of bread."

Being appointed master of the grammar-school at Reading, he endeavoured to promote the Gospel; but some false friends searched his study, and threatened to inform against him if he did not resign the mastership to one of their number, and leave the place. This he was constrained to do, and went to Evesham, intending to apply for some property left to him by his father; but he found his own mother was become an enemy to him for the Gospel's sake! When he kneeled before her and asked her blessing (a usual custom in former times, but long since laid aside), she exclaimed, "Thou shalt have Christ's curse and mine wherever thou go." "Oh mother," said he, after a short pause, "your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me!" He endeavoured to soften her anger, but she bade him depart, and refused to give him any part of his property, adding, "Fagots I have to burn thee: more thou gettest not at my hands." Modern Romanists have asserted that the doctrines of the Gospel, taught by Protestants, would make the children of Romish parents undutiful and unnatural. Such *cannot* be the effect of the doctrines of the truth, where they really act upon the heart by faith; but in the case of Palmer, we see that the effects of Romanism were such that a woman forgot her own child.

He then returned to Reading to collect his scanty property ; but one night, while in bed, he was seized, and put into a vile, noisome dungeon. His feet and hands were so placed in the stocks that his body scarcely touched the ground. He was brought before the mayor, and accused of treason, sedition, intended murder, and adultery. For these accusations there was not the smallest ground ; and the accusers resorted to the easier expedient, a charge of heresy. We have seen how easy it was to gather sufficient out of the martyrs' own mouths to condemn them. Thus it fared with Palmer. He was carried to Newbury. They at first accused him for some writings found in his study, but soon turned to the grand subject. Pointing to the pix, or box containing the consecrated host, the priest of Englefield inquired, "What seest thou yonder?" "A canopy of silk, bordered with gold," was the reply. "Yea, but what is within it?" "A piece of bread in a clout, I suppose," answered Palmer. This was enough ; the examination was not prolonged.

The sheriff and some of the neighbouring gentry endeavoured to persuade him to recant, making advantageous offers if he would return to Romanism. He declined, thanking them for their kind intentions. They still urged him to turn. "Take pity on thy golden years and pleasant flowers of youth before it is too late," said one. "Sir, I long for those springing flowers that shall not fade away," was his reply. The next morning, July the 16th, he was condemned, and was burned at five the same afternoon! Palmer exhorted his companions to constancy, adding, "We shall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life ; yea, for coals we shall receive pearls."

At the place of execution two Romish priests exhorted him to recant, as they said, to save his soul. "Away!" exclaimed he ; "tempt me no longer ; away from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears." As he warned the people against Romish teachers, a man threw a fagot at his face, which wounded him. The sheriff, abhorring this uncalled-for cruelty, struck the fellow over the head. When the flames were kindled, the martyrs lifted up their hands to heaven, and quietly, as if they felt no pain, exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, strengthen us ; Lord Jesus, assist us ; Lord Jesus, receive our souls !" and gave up their lives without a struggle. Their heads fell together ; and all supposed them to be dead, when Palmer's mouth was seen to open, and he was heard to utter once more the name of Jesus — that name which is above every name.

CHAPTER XI.

John Careless.—A new-born Child burned.—A blind Woman burned.—Processions.—A.D. 1556.



A Protestant mother lamenting over her infant starved to death in prison, where she herself perished shortly after.—(See p. 222.)

We have not referred particularly to those who died in confinement; but about this time one departed this life in the King's Bench prison, who must not be passed without notice. This was JOHN CARELESS, a weaver of Coventry.* In Fox will be found a particular record of his examinations before Dr. Martin. They differed from those of his fellow-sufferers, as they turned chiefly upon the subject of predestination. Martin proceeded like one indifferent as to religion. Careless stopped him, saying, "It is a high mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of." Being required to express his opinion, he said as follows: "I believe that Almighty God, our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, through Jesus Christ, did elect and

* His imprisonment was long; it lasted for two whole years. The first part of it was at Coventry, where his word was so firmly relied on, that the keeper allowed him to go out, and take his accustomed part in the annual procession customary in that city; he kept his promise and returned to prison.

appoint in him, before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church, or congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, so that not one of them shall ever finally perish." Martin inquired if he were willing to serve the queen in Ireland as a soldier. "I hope, sir," replied Careless, "to be ready to do all things that pertain to a Christian subject to do; and if her grace and her officers require me to do anything contrary to Christ's religion, I am ready also to do my service in Smithfield, as my brethren have done: praised be God for them."

But he was not called to pass to his father's house through the fire. His body was wasted by sickness, the effects of long and painful confinement: he died in prison, and was buried in a dunghill; but he has left a good memorial behind him. Many of his letters were preserved; they are most excellent and spiritual. To relieve the mind of the reader, fatigued with repeated details of examinations and burnings, we may here insert one of the letters of Careless. It was addressed to some of the martyrs, when about to suffer, and strongly shows that they were burned only for their religion, and that their sole support was derived from "Him who is able to save to the uttermost."

"To my most dear and faithful brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the testimony of God's everlasting truth." (See chap. ix.)

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual joy, strength, and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith, and lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my most dear and faithful loving brother Tymms, and with all the rest of my dear hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow-soldiers, and most constant companions in bonds, yea, of men condemned most cruelly for the sincere testimony of God's everlasting truth, to the full finishing of that good work, which he hath so graciously begun in you all; that the same may be to his glory, the advantage of his poor afflicted Church, and to your everlasting comfort in Him. Amen.

"Ah! my most sweet and loving brethren, and dearest hearts in the Lord, what shall I say, or how shall I write unto you, in the least point, or part, to utter the great joy that my poor heart hath conceived in God, through the most godly example of your Christian constancy, and sincere confession of Christ's verity? Truly, my tongue cannot declare, nor my pen express the abundance of spiritual joy and gladness that my mind and inward man hath felt, ever since I heard of your hearty boldness and modest behaviour before that bloody butcher, in the time of all your crafty examinations, especially at your cruel condemnation, in their cursed consistory place. Blessed be God, the Father of all mercy,

and praised be his name, for that he hath so graciously performed upon you, his dear children, his most sweet and comfortable promises; not only in giving you the continual aid, strength, and comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, faithfully to confess his Christ, for whose cause (O most happy men) ye are condemned to die; but also in giving you such a mouth and wisdom, as your wicked enemies were not able to resist, but were fain to cry, 'Peace, peace,' and not suffer you to speak. As truly as God liveth, this is not only unto you a most evident proof that God is on our side, and a sure certainty of your everlasting salvation in him, but also to your cruel adversaries (or, rather, God's cursed enemies), a plain demonstration of their just eternal wo and damnation, which they shall be full sure shortly to feel, when ye shall full sweetly possess the place of felicity and pleasure prepared for you from the beginning.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, cease not, as long as ye be in this life, to praise the Lord with courage, for that, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, he hath vouched you worthy of this great dignity, to suffer for his sake, not only the loss of goods, wife, and children, long imprisonment, cruel oppression, &c., but also being deprived of this mortal life, with the dissolution of your bodies in the fire; the which is the greatest promotion that God can bring you, or any other unto, in this vale of misery; yea, so great an honour, as the highest angel in heaven is not permitted to have, and yet the Lord, for his dear Son Christ's sake, hath reputed you worthy of the same; yea, and that before me and many others, who have both long looked and longed for the same.

"Ah! my most dear brother *Tymns*, whose time resteth altogether in the hands of the Lord, in a happy time camest thou into this troublesome world, but in a much more blessed hour shalt thou depart out of the same; so that the sweet saying of Solomon, or, rather, of the Holy Ghost, shall be full verified upon thee, yea, and all thy faithful fellows: 'Better is the day of death than the day of birth.' This saying cannot be verified upon every man; but upon thee, my dear brother, and such as thou art, whose death is most precious before God; and dear shall your blood be in his sight. Blessed be God for thee, my dear brother *Tymns*, and blessed be God that ever I knew thee, for in a most happy time I came first into your company. Pray for me, dear brother, pray for me, that God will vouch me worthy of that great dignity whereto he hath brought you.

"Ah! my loving brother *Drake*, whose soul now draweth nigh unto God, of whom ye have received the same, full glad may you be that God ever gave you a life to leave for his sake. Full well will he restore it to you again a thousand fold more glorious. Praise God, good brother, as you have

great cause ; and pray for me, I beseech you, who am so unworthy (so great are my sins) of that great dignity wherunto the Lord hath called you and the rest of your godly brethren, whom I beseech you to comfort in the Lord, as you can full well ; praised be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the setting forth of his glory, and the benefit of his poor afflicted Church : which thing shall surely redound to your everlasting joy and comfort, as you shall most effectually feel, ere long, though the wicked of the world judge far otherwise.

" Mine own hearts, and most beloved brethren, *Cavel, Ambrose*, and both the *Spurges*, blessed be the Lord on your behalf, and praised be his name who hath given you such a glorious victory. Full valiant have you showed yourselves in the Lord's fight, and full faithful in your painful service. Faint not, but go on forward as ye have most godly begun ; for great shall your reward be at the end of this your travel. Ah ! my good, faithful brethren all, what shall I say, or what shall I write unto you, but even the same that good Elizabeth did say to her godly kinswoman, Mary the blessed mother of Christ : ' Happy art thou which hast believed, for all things which the Lord hath spoken to thee shall be fulfilled !'

" So say I to you, my dear hearts in the Lord ; happy are ye all, yea, twice happy shall ye be for evermore, because ye have steadfastly believed the sweet promises which God the Father hath made unto you with his own mouth ; in that he hath promised you (who are the faithful seed of believing Abraham) that ye shall be blessed forever, world without end. As ye do believe the promises of God, your sweet Father, so do ye bear record that God is true. The testimony whereof ye have full worthily borne to the world, and shortly will full surely seal the same with your blood, yea, even tomorrow, as I understand. Oh ! constant Christians ! Oh ! valiant soldiers of the High Captain Jesus Christ, who, for your sake, hath conquered the devil, death, sin, and hell ; and hath given powerful victory over them for evermore. Oh ! worthy witnesses, and most glorious martyrs, whose invincible faith hath overcome the proud, sturdy, bragging prince of this world, and all his wicked army, over whom ye shall shortly triumph for evermore. Ah ! my sweet hearts, the everlasting treasures are surely laid for you in heaven. The most glorious crown of victory is already made and prepared for you, to be shortly put upon your happy heads. The holy angels of your heavenly Father are already appointed to convey your souls into Abraham's bosom. All the heavenly host rejoiceth already that they shall shortly receive you with joy and felicity into their blessed fellowship.

" Rejoice with double joy, and be glad, my dear brethren,

for, doubtless, ye have more cause than can be expressed. But I, that for my sins am left behind, may lie and lament with the holy prophet, saying, 'Wo is me that the days of my joyful rest are prolonged.'—(See Ps. cxx., 5.) Ah! cursed Satan, which hath caused me so to offend my most dear, loving Father, whereby my exile and banishment is so much prolonged. O Christ, my advocate, pacify thy Father's wrath, which I have justly deserved, that he may take me home to him in his sweet mercy! Oh! that I might now come home unto thee with my blessed brethren! Well, thy will, O Lord, be effectually fulfilled; for it is only good, and turneth all things to the best for such as thou, in thy mercy, hast chosen.

"And now, farewell, my dear hearts, most happy in the Lord. I trust in my good God yet shortly to see you in the celestial city, whereof, undoubtedly, the Lord hath already made you free citizens. Though ye be yet with us for a little time, your real home is in heaven, where your treasure doth remain with your sweet Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, whose calling you have heard with the ears of your hearts; and therefore ye shall never come into judgment, but pass from death unto life. Your sins shall never be remembered, be they ever so many, so grievous, or so great, for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the sea: he hath removed them from you, as far as the east is from the west, and his mercy hath much more prevailed over you, than is the distance between heaven and earth; and he hath given you, for an everlasting possession of the same, all his holiness, righteousness, and justification; yea, and the Holy Ghost into your hearts, wherewith ye are surely sealed unto the day of redemption, to certify you of your eternal election; and that ye are his true adopted sons, whereby ye may boldly cry unto God, 'Abba, dear Father,' forevermore. So that now no creature in heaven, earth, or hell, shall be able to accuse you before the throne of the heavenly King. Satan is now cast out from you: he himself is judged, and hath no part in you; he will once more bite you by the heel, and then he hath done, for at that time you shall bruise his head, through your own good Christ, and so have final victory forevermore. In joyful triumph ye shall ascend into the place of eternal rest, whither your eldest brother, Christ, is gone before you, to take possession for you, and to prepare your place under the holy altar, with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Hooper, Saunders, Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, and many others, who will be full glad of your coming, to see six more of the appointed number, that their blood may so much the sooner be avenged upon them that dwell on the earth.—(Rev., vi., 9, 10.)

"Thus I make an end, committing you all to God's most

merciful defence, whose quarrel ye have defended, whose cause ye have promoted, whose glory ye have set forth, and whose name ye have constantly confessed. Farewell for a while, my dear hearts in the Lord. I will make as much haste after you as I may. All our dear brethren salute you; they pray for you, and praise God for you continually. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, saith the Holy Ghost, and their works follow them.

* "Your own JOHN CARELESS, a most unprofitable servant of the Lord. PRAY. PRAY. PRAY."

Surely we may derive instruction from the simple expressions of faith in the letter of this poor weaver. And let it be remembered, that these were not the counsels of one who, far from the scene of suffering, coolly wrote his advice to others who were in tribulation. It is the testimony and the experience of one who for many months had endured a painful confinement, which at length caused his death. While wasting away under the effects of this illness, he was repeatedly examined by the enemies of the truth, and daily expected to undergo the same horrid death which those to whom his letter was written were about to suffer.

We may give an extract from one other letter, written by Careless to Henry Adlington, one of the thirteen martyrs burned together in the same fire, mentioned in the last chapter, and who, having been examined before Dr. Story and his associates, requested the advice of his more experienced brother.

"I perceive that upon Friday next they intend to condemn you; therefore I think they will have no great reasoning with you, but bid you answer them directly, either yea or nay, to all such things as they have to charge you with, which they have gathered of you since you came into their cruel hands.* But if they will needs make many words with you, because you are but a simple man, and therefore perchance they will be the busier with you, to trouble you with many questions, to cumber your knowledge, and then seem to triumph over you and the truth you do hold; if, I say, they do this, as perhaps for some evil purpose they will, then be you as plain and short as you can, saying roundly unto them these or such like words, as near as you can."

And now, reader, mark these words, and remember that it was for believing and saying such things that our Protestant

* Reader, mark this proof of the similarity between the proceedings of these popish ecclesiastics and those of the INQUISITION. A man is condemned, not for former offences, but for expressions uttered in giving replies to the questions of his judge, who thus becomes at once his accuser and condemner.

forefathers were burned in the days of Queen Mary. Careless suggests to his friend to speak after this manner :

"Be it known unto you, that I, in all points, do believe as becometh a true Christian, and as I have been truly taught in the days of good King Edward, by godly prophets and preachers sent of God, who have sealed the doctrine with their blood. As for you, I know you to be none of Christ's shepherds, but ravening wolves, who come to scatter and to kill the flock of Christ, as the Lord said you should ; he tells us to beware of you and your poisoned doctrine, bidding us to judge you according to your fruits, whereby all men may see and know what you be, if they will not be wilfully blind. But the good shepherds have given their lives for the defence of Christ's flock, and I am commanded to follow their faithful and godly example, and to confess with them one truth, even to the fire, if God shall see it good ; and this, as a true Christian, I have hitherto done, and henceforth, by God's grace, intend to do. And if for the same God shall suffer you to take away my life, as you have done theirs, I am content ; his will be done, for that only is good. But of this be ye sure, the Lord will shortly call you to account for the innocent blood that is shed within this realm, which you have brought into a most woful case, and made many a heavy heart in the same ; and more I perceive you will make, so long as the Lord, for our sins, will suffer you to prosper, and until the time that your iniquity be fully ripe. But be you sure that the Lord will sit in judgment upon you, as you do now upon his saints, and will reward you according to your deservings ; to whom, with my whole heart, I commit my cause ; and he will make answer for me when the full time of my refreshing cometh. Meanwhile, I will keep silence, trusting that I have sufficiently discharged my conscience in confessing my faith and religion to you, declaring of what church I am, even of the Catholic Church of Jesus Christ, which was well known to be here in England, in our late good king's days, by two special tokens which cannot deceive me, or suffer me to be deceived : that is to say, the pure preaching of his Holy Word, and the due administration of the holy sacraments, which is not to be seen in your Romish Church, and therefore it cannot be justly called the Church and spouse of Christ. 'I believe in the Holy Trinity, and all the other articles of the Christian faith contained in the three creeds, and, finally, all the canonical Scripture to be true in every sentence,' &c.

"This kind of answer it shall be best for you to make ; and by God's grace I do intend to do the same myself, when the Lord shall vouch me worthy of that great dignity, whereunto he hath called you. And if they shall laugh you to

scorn, as I know they will, saying, Thou art a fool, and an unlearned ass-head, and art able to make answer to nothing, then care not you for it, but still commit your cause unto God, who will make answer for you; and tell them, that 'They have been answered again and again, by divers godly and learned men. But all will not help, for there is one solution for all manner of questions, even a fair fire and fagots: this will be the end of your disputations. Therefore, I pray you to trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God shall permit the time. I am no better than Christ, his apostles, and other of my good brethren that are gone before me.'

"This kind of answer will cut their combs most, and edify the people that stand by, so that the same be done coolly, with sobriety, meekness, and patience, as I heard say our sweet brethren, *Thomas Harland* and *John Oswald*, did at Lewes, in Sussex, to the great rejoicing of the children of God in those parts; and I hear that they were dissolved from this earthly tabernacle at Lewes on Saturday last, and were condemned but the Wednesday before, so that we may perceive the papists have quick work in hand, that they make such haste to send us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore, let us make ourselves ready to ride in the fiery chariot, leaving these sorry mantles and old cloaks behind us for a little time, which God shall restore unto us again in a more glorious wise."

The letter concludes thus:

"Blessed be God for you, and such as you, who have played the parts of wise builders. You have digged down, past the sand of your own natural strength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wisdom, and are now come to the hard stone and immovable rock, Christ, who is your only keeper; and upon him alone you have builded your faith most firmly, without doubting, mistrust, or wavering. Therefore, neither the storms nor tempests, winds nor weathers that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring against you, with the very gates of hell to help them, shall ever be able once to move your house, much less to overthrow it; for the Lord God himself, and not man, is the builder thereof, and hath promised to preserve and keep the same safe forever."

These extracts may appear long, but they are valuable, as they present a lively picture of those times, when men suffered for conscience' sake; and while the perusal of them affords some relief from the painful details of butchery, which principally engage our attention, it strongly confirms and evidences the truth of the narratives already given. If any one thinks that the martyrs spoke too boldly, and used language to the popish inquisitors harsher than was needful (and in the

present day some persons do entertain such an idea), let them for a moment consider the necessity which was laid upon these men to speak *the truth*, and leave the event with God. Could they have abstained from thus faithfully addressing their relentless persecutors, without weakening the testimony which they were called to bear in the presence of others? Surely to such times the words of the Holy Ghost, as spoken by the prophet, are peculiarly applicable: "Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."—(Isa., v., 20.) Ought we not rather to examine ourselves? Is there not at the present day a general inclination lightly to pass over and extenuate things which the Word of God tells us will be strictly inquired into? Is there not especially, with regard to Romanism, an inclination to believe sophistical statements and coloured representations, rather than to examine *facts* for ourselves?

JOHN CLEMENT, also a prisoner for Christ's sake, died in the King's Bench prison this year, and his body, as usual, was cast out into a ditch.* He was a wheelwright by trade, and appears to have been one of the pious laymen, who, in those troublous times, supplied the place of the martyred and exiled ministers. Strype has preserved a letter which he wrote to his friends, and a profession of Christian faith, which are precious memorials of those days.

Fox gives a particular account of the narrow escape of *Agnes Wardell*, at Ipswich, about this period. It is interesting, as it presents a lively picture of the sufferings and narrow escapes of many professors of the Gospel in those troublous times. She and her husband were "marked;" he entered as a sailor on board a vessel belonging to a pious man, while his wife concealed herself in various places, occasionally returning secretly to visit her house and family, left in the care of a young servant. One night, after narrowly escaping the search made in her house, she crept into a ditch, and hid herself among some nettles. She was seen by one of the party in search of her, but he was an honest man, and led his companions away.

Dr. Argentine, the principal persecutor at Ipswich, was originally a serving man, but afterward practised as a doctor

* A letter from Caraccas, in Spanish South America, dated in November, 1825, mentions that a young Englishman died in the preceding month, and was buried in the churchyard, with the customary Romish ceremonies, his friends having represented him to be a Roman Catholic, that they might not be obliged to witness his burial in a ditch, or some such place. But the real fact that he was a Protestant becoming known, the body was dug up, and found naked and mutilated in the churchyard! The government, however, interfered, and having shaken off some of their Romish prejudices, the body was again interred, and a piece of ground was ordered to be allotted to the English, for their use as a burial-place. The reader, probably, will recollect the affecting reference to this Romish intolerance in Young's *Night Thoughts*.

216 CATHERINE CAWCHES AND HER DAUGHTERS.

of physic. In King Henry's reign he complied with the various changes that occurred, and became master of the grammar-school, and professed Protestantism during the reign of King Edward. On the accession of Mary, he became a zealous Romanist, obtained orders, and preached the doctrines of popery, carrying the pix, and leading about the boy St. Nicholas; at length, having become hateful to his townsmen, he went to London; and, when Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, he once more professed to be a Protestant!

The preceding pages have contained many narratives of atrocious cruelties; but the history which next claims our attention far exceeds any already related. It also throws considerable light upon the principles of Romanism. CATHERINE CAWCHES was an inhabitant of Guernsey. In the month of May, 1556, a woman named Gosset entered the house of a person named Le Couronne, while all the family were from home, and stole a silver cup, which she took to Perotine, the daughter of Cawches, asking her to lend her sixpence, and keep the cup as a pledge. Perotine knew it to be the property of Le Couronne, and, fearful lest Gosset should dispose of it elsewhere, lent her the sixpence, and kept the cup. Perotine then informed Le Couronne of his loss; he apprehended Gosset, who confessed the fact, and requested that he would send some one with her to redeem the cup, which was done; thus it came again into the possession of its owner, through the honesty of Perotine. The next day the justices were called together to inquire into this affair, when a constable informed them that he had seen a pewter dish in the house of Cawches with the name scraped out; upon which Cawches, with her daughters PEROTINE and GUILLEMINNE, were apprehended and committed to prison. They knew their own innocence, and petitioned that their case might be examined into. As no accuser appeared, their neighbours were questioned respecting their conduct, who spoke highly of them in all respects except that "they were not obedient to the commands of Holy Church, and forsook the mass." This placed matters in a new light. Gosset was convicted of the felony, and punished, while Cawches and her daughters were cleared from any accusation of the sort; but they were suspected of heresy, and the bailiffs and justices sent them to the dean and curates, that their opinions might be examined. This was done at first in a careless manner, and the women stated they were ready to obey whatever was required. But the clergy were called upon to examine them more particularly. The result was, on the 13th of July they were declared to be heretics, for having spoken against "the Catholic faith, and the sacraments and other ceremonies of the Church." Being delivered to the

secular power, they were, on the 17th of July, carried to the place of execution, near the town of St. Peter Port, and fastened to three separate stakes. Orders were given that they should be strangled; but, the rope breaking, they fell alive into the flames, and, while in this dreadful situation, Perotine gave birth to a child. A by-stander, named House, snatched the infant from the flames; it was alive, and a fair male child; being carried to the provost, he sent it to the bailiff, who ordered that it should be cast into the fire, where it speedily perished. "Thus," as Fox observes, "the infant was baptized in its own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, being both born and dying a martyr: a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless generation of Catholic tormentors!"

Incredible as such horrid cruelty may appear, it is proved by unquestionable legal documents. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Matthew Cawches, the brother of Catherine, petitioned for justice against the dean and his accomplices, on the ground that, whatever might be said respecting the three women, the infant's death was certainly a murder, as he was destroyed without the smallest legal pretext. The case was inquired into; the dean and his associates humbly petitioned for pardon of their offences, in their erroneous judgments respecting these women and the child, "executed by fire for supposed heresy." This they obtained; but not till some of them were imprisoned, and otherwise punished.

The reader will find the legal and other documents given at length in Fox's Acts and Monuments. As may be supposed, this tragedy attracted public notice, and the Romanists were anxious to remove the stigma it cast upon them. Thus it early became a subject of controversy, and was noticed by Harding in his rejoinder to Bishop Jewel. At first, he was inclined to deny the truth of the narrative; but, finding this impossible, his next endeavour was to remove the blame from the Romish clergy. To effect this, he adopts a singular course; and the reader will not be a little surprised when he learns that the Romish advocate endeavours to cast the blame upon the martyred Perotine! With that view, he accuses her of evil life and murder! His argument to prove the former is merely because Fox did not state the name of her husband! and he insinuates that it was purposely suppressed. Happily, this charge was brought while Fox was alive, and he speedily repaired the omission. In the next edition of his work, he entered fully upon the subject, stating that he had not noticed that circumstance, not thinking it material to the story; and he justly remarks upon the unfairness of condemning a narrative as false, because every little particular is not related. He then supplies the deficiency, stating that

the husband of Perotine was named David Jores, a minister, that they were married in King Edward's reign, at the Church of Our Lady's Castle in Guernsey, by Noël Regnet, a Frenchman; as Fox adds, "yet alive, witness hereunto, and now dwelling in London, in St. Martin's le Grand."

This evidence was too strong to be resisted; but Perotine was the wife of a priest; and, according to the *Romish* doctrine, she could not have been lawfully married; they therefore do not scruple, *even now*, to apply to her the coarsest terms of reproach. Gardiner, the lord-chancellor of England, publicly applied similar appellations to the wives of Cranmer, Rogers, Taylor, and others. Fox strongly exposes the unfairness of Harding's proceedings, and says, "Evil life shall find no bolstering by me; I wish it might find as little among the chaste Catholics of M. Harding's church!"*

The charge of murder is still more atrocious and unfounded. "A strange case," as Fox says, "that she who was murdered herself with her child, and died *before* him, should be accused of the murder of her child!" Upon this point it is only necessary to observe, that it is merely grounded upon the assertion, without any proof, that Perotine concealed her situation, and that her judges would have spared her had it been known, although other instances prove the contrary. But we need not pursue this part of the subject. The observations of Fox deserve to be read; they show that his work was strongly attacked as soon as it appeared, and that the assertions of the Romanists only tended to their own confusion, and the confirmation of the truth.

But another part of the narrative requires notice. The child was alive, and yet it was thrown by the Romanists into the fire, and allowed to perish unbaptized! *This, according to their doctrine, was sending it to certain damnation.* Let not the reader start, and think the assertion too strong. The doctrine of the *Romish Church* is, that every infant dying unbaptized *must* perish everlastingly. Let this be remembered, and we shall be able fully to appreciate the feelings of these men, who sentenced an innocent child to everlasting suffering, when, if they thought it undeserving of life, they might, according to *their doctrine*, have secured its eternal happiness by their ceremony of baptism. If other proof were wanting that they considered all the heretics they burned were in a state of damnation, this alone would

* A modern Romanist thus speaks of these martyrs: "The famous Guernsey thief and prostitute, who, by concealing her situation, was the cause of her child's death, before it was burned."—See a *Key to the Roman Catholic Office*, Whitby, 1823.

In the early editions of the *Romish Testament*, in a note upon 1 Cor., vii., 9, it is said, "Those who are lawfully made priests *cannot marry at all*; their marriage is but pretended, and is the worst sort of incontinence and fornication." Is not this an admission of the apostle's mark of false teachers, 1 Tim., iv., 3: "Forbidding to marry?"

be sufficient; and the more so, as their rituals contain many singular directions, whereby baptism may be conferred in such a manner as, in their opinion, to ensure the salvation of those who, spared from the taste of life's bitter cup, but "gasp and die."* The painful narrative just related needs no comment; it speaks home to every one, especially to those parents whose painful regrets on resigning an infant newly born have been soothed by the *certain* and *Scriptural* persuasion that their child was spared from the pains of this life, and called to eternal joys. Let such parents say what is their opinion of Romanism!

THOMAS MORE was a servant at Leicester, and was apprehended for having said that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pix. The bishop soon decided his case. He pointed to the high altar, and inquired whether the lad did not believe his Maker to be there. More denying this, was required to state "how he believed." Having done so, the bishop asked, "What is yonder over the altar?" He replied, "I see fine cloths with golden tassels, and other gay gear, hanging about the pix; what is within I cannot see." "Dost thou not believe," said the bishop, "that Christ is there, flesh, blood, and bone?" "No, that I do not," was the answer. This was enough; he was condemned, and burned on the 26th of June!

In July, THOMAS DONGATE, JOHN FOREMAN, and a woman named TREE, were burned in Sussex.

The month of August commenced with the burning of a blind woman at Derby, twenty-two years of age. JOAN WASTE was the daughter of a poor barber and rope-maker, and had been blind from her birth; but though He whose compassions fail not saw fit to send her this bodily infirmity, He gave light to her soul.

The story of this poor blind woman is affecting and inter-

* The *Rituale Romanum*, published by papal authority, thus speaks of the rite of baptism: "Holy baptism, the gate of the Christian religion and of eternal life, which holds the first place among the other sacraments of the new law instituted by Christ, is necessary to the salvation of all." With this view, the Church of Rome, in case of danger, sanctioned baptisms, even although conferred by laymen, heretics, or females! From the vital importance attached to the ceremony, it also provides for all cases that can be supposed likely to occur, when it may become a part of the duty of a medical man to confer or direct this rite. If the reader refers to the work just quoted, he will be astonished and disgusted at many of the directions therein contained; but we cannot pursue the subject, although it is fully discussed in a work containing directions for the services of the Roman Church! The unbaptized infants of Romish parents are supposed to go to a dark place, called *Limbus*; those of heretics to everlasting flames. Both are debarred from heaven.

The author of "*Frauds of Romish Monks and Priests*" (London, 1725) states that at Dijon, the bodies of still-born children were laid before a miraculous image of the Virgin, believing that, by her intercession, a momentary life would be given to the children sufficient for them to receive the rite of baptism! He saw the putrid bodies of two infants lying thus, over whom two hundred masses had been said, for which the parents paid a crown for each mass. He saw a friar at length touch the board: the bodies moved, the priest immediately pronounced the words, and the people shouted a *Miracle!* a *miracle!!*

esting. She learned to knit and to make ropes, and "in no case would be idle." After the decease of her parents, she lived with her brother; and during King Edward's reign, daily resorted to church, to hear the Divine service in the vulgar tongue, and sermons explaining the real truths of the Gospel, not setting forth the lying legends of Romish saints! Inestimable indeed must this privilege have been to a poor, illiterate, blind female. Her mind was gradually enlightened by the truths she heard. At length she saved money enough to buy a Testament (not such an easy acquisition as at the present day). But she could not read! To supply this defect, she had recourse to an aged man, named Hurt, imprisoned for debt, and generally persuaded him to read her at least one chapter every day. These passages she treasured up in her memory. When he was unable or unwilling to read, she engaged others in his place, occasionally rewarding them with a few pence, and stipulating how often they should read each chapter. By this means, and by hearing the Scriptures daily read in the churches, her mind was richly stored with Divine truth; she could readily reprove sin from Scripture, as well as such abuses in religion as were prevalent in those days.

On the accession of Queen Mary, she continued steadfast in the faith, and was summoned to appear before Bane, the bishop, who, with his chancellor of the diocese, assisted by several justices, sat in judgment upon her. The accusations stated that she did not believe the sacrament of the altar to be the real body of Christ, with similar charges.

She said, she believed what the holy Scriptures taught her; that she was a poor, unlearned, blind woman, and therefore desired them not to trouble her with farther talk, as, by God's assistance, she was ready to yield up her life in that faith.

The bishop and his chancellor continued to argue with her, and easily puzzled this poor woman. At length she inquired whether the bishop would take it upon his conscience, that the doctrines he declared were true, and would engage to answer for her at the dreadful day of judgment. The bishop assented; but his chancellor interposed, reminding his lordship that "he might not undertake to answer for a heretic!"*

* The late Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunswick, was a nominal Protestant during the greater part of his life, but at last turned Romanist. He published a book called "The Duke of Brunswick's Fifty Reasons for preferring the Roman Catholic Religion," which appears in the authorized catalogues of Romish works, and is highly commended by their most celebrated ecclesiastics at the present day. The last reason concludes thus: "The Catholics to whom I spoke concerning my conversion, assured me that, if I were to be damned for embracing the Catholic faith, they were ready to answer for me at the day of judgment, and to take my damnation upon themselves!!" It is hard to say which is most painful to contemplate, the blind ignorance of the convert, or the impious arrogance of the converters. And what shall we say to the leading Roman ecclesiastics in our day, that they should boast of such a convert, and hold forth such an argument for conversion to their Church! How different the declarations of Scripture: "None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him."—Psalm xlix., 7.

She then said, that since they would not thus confirm their own belief in what they asserted, she would answer no farther. Sentence was then pronounced, and about five weeks afterward a writ for her burning was issued.

Dr. Draycot, the chancellor, was appointed to preach a sermon on the occasion. Many of the neighbouring gentry were required to attend, and this poor blind servant of God was set before the pulpit. The doctor inveighed at some length against heresies, and said that this woman was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but also blind as to the eyes of her soul; adding, that like as her body was about to be consumed with fire, her soul would burn in hell with everlasting fire, and that it was not lawful for people to pray for her!

After sermon, she was carried to a place called the Windmill-pit, her brother holding her by the hand! With his assistance, she prepared herself for the stake! She desired the people to pray for her, and repeated such prayers as she was able, and cried upon the Lord Jesus with her last breath. Meanwhile, Dr. Draycot, fatigued with his exertion, returned to his inn, and slept away his fatigues, while she suffered in the flames. Of what must the heart of such a man have been composed! Surely it must have been harder than "the nether millstone." Fox anticipated that such a narrative would hardly be credited in after times; he therefore confirms these particulars by the testimony of William Bainbridge, the bailiff or chief magistrate of the town, who superintended her execution; also of John Cadman, the curate, and others who were living when his work appeared.

Bishop Bane and his chancellor were exceedingly active during the latter part of this year, "through the fierce inquisition of whom," as Fox relates, many were called to examination, and compelled to do penance, by carrying a fagot, candle, and beads in a public procession. A long list is given of men and women who thus became "marked" for future observation. Nor was the penance a trifling punishment when all its attendant circumstances are considered, although at that time popery was not sufficiently re-established in England to allow the ecclesiastics to inflict the full severities of Romish penance.*

On the 8th of September, EDWARD SHARP was burned at Bristol; and on the 25th, another martyr, whose name is not

* The tender mercies of a Romish penance appear in the discipline which St. Dominic himself ordered a man, named Ponce Roger, to undergo: On three Sundays he was to be led by the priest, from the entrance of the town to the church, naked except his drawers, and flogged all the way. He was always to abstain from flesh meat, eggs, cheese, and everything of animal food, except at Easter, Whitsunide, and Christmas. Three days in the week he was not to taste fish, oil, or wine; and three times in the year he was to abstain from fish for forty days. He was to wear a particular dress, with crosses on the breast, like those affixed to houses infected with the plague. He was to attend mass every day, and regularly to go through the daily prayers called the Hours; seven times in the day he was to repeat the Paternoster ten times over, and twenty times at midnight; and, though last, not least, he was to be constantly under the inspection of the priest.

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stated, being only mentioned as a CARPENTER, suffered in the same city.

On the 24th of the same month, JOHN HART and THOMAS RAVENSDALE, with two others, were burned at Mayfield, in Sussex. Shortly afterward, JOHN HORN and a woman were burned at Wooton-under-edge.

Other martyrs suffered in different ways. WILLIAM DANGERFIELD, of Wooton-under-edge, was taken from his wife and ten children, the youngest only four days old. The wife and her infant were sent to prison *ten days afterward*, and shut up with thieves and murderers, not being allowed to approach a fire, so that she was compelled to warm the clothes for her infant in her own bosom. The husband was kept apart from her, and laid in irons till his legs were fretted almost to the bone. The Romish bishop sent for him after three months' imprisonment, and, telling him that his wife had recanted, persuaded him to abjure. He was then allowed to see her. On learning what he had done, she exclaimed; "Alas! have we thus long continued one, and hath Satan so prevailed as to cause you to break your vow made to Christ in baptism!" Struck with this, he prayed to God that he might not be suffered to live so long as to call evil good, and good evil. Being then sent from the prison, he returned homeward; but on the way was taken ill, probably from the severities he suffered in prison, aggravated by his mental suffering, and shortly after died!

The wife was still detained, and, being examined before this Romish prelate, was again sent to prison. There she and her child continued, till at length, having no nourishment for her babe, it pined away and died from cold and famine. The mother soon followed. Nor was this all: the husband's mother, more than eighty years of age, being left destitute of necessary comfort, perished shortly after their apprehension. The sufferings and fate of the nine orphans left at home are not particularly recorded; but, as credible persons dwelling in Wooton-under-edge related, "they were all undone."

Similar sufferings were experienced by the prisoners at Canterbury. Four men, named CLARK, FOSTER, CHITTENDEN, and ARCHEA, and a woman, were actually starved to death. Their companions, who did not suffer in this manner, were burned in the ensuing year; they found means to write a letter, and cast it out of the prison, stating the cruel treatment they experienced, and that four were famished already; it concludes thus: "We write not these letters that we should not be famished for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father."

The woman was named ALICE POTKIN; being asked her age, she said she was forty-nine years old, according to her *old age*, but, according to her *young age*, since she had learned Christ, she was only one year old.

In the month of October, a SHOEMAKER was burned at Northampton, and a man named Hook suffered at Chester. Many others are mentioned as dying from the effects of imprisonment, in different parts of England.

Among the painful events of this year, we have to notice the recantation of Sir John Cheeke, the preceptor of Edward VI. He escaped to Germany in the early part of this reign; but, visiting Brussels in the year 1556, he was seized upon the road by the order of King Philip, although it is said he had a passport from that monarch, and was carried over to England. Here he shrunk from the profession which he had counselled many to make, and was prevailed upon to recant. The Romanists gloried in this conquest. Twice he was obliged to make public profession of his new faith; and being invited to dinner by Bonner, was compelled to be present, and silently to consent, while that prelate examined and condemned some of the martyrs. But the "iron entered into his soul." His conscience severely accused him for the part he acted; being allowed to retire to the house of a friend, he pined away from distress of mind, and the year following expired in deep repentance. The fall of this great man should be a warning to him that standeth, to take heed lest he fall, as all must do unless upheld by Divine grace. Archbishop Parker afterward wrote on the margin of Cheeke's recantation, "We are but men!"

While Queen Mary and her council were employed in persecuting the Protestants, she found time to superintend other proceedings for the advancement of Romanism. During this and the preceding year, her attention was much occupied in restoring some of the convents and houses for monks and friars suppressed by her father. The first of these was the monastery of Franciscans at Greenwich, which was the first monastic institution dissolved by Henry; she also endowed a house for the Dominicans in Smithfield; an appropriate situation, where they could easily witness the sufferings of the martyrs. These establishments were made at little cost, for their inmates were begging friars, who lived by their exertions in extorting alms. Towards the end of this reign, several persons of some note were buried at the monastery in Smithfield, from a belief that their souls would be benefited thereby! The Knights' Hospitallers of St. John also had a house granted to them, and some Carthusians were settled at Sheen, near Richmond. The principal foundation was at Westminster; and this also the queen effected without much cost, by suppressing the deanery and cathedral establishment, and turning it again into a monastery for Bene-

dictine monks. Dr. Feckenham, dean of St. Paul's, was appointed abbot, and installed with much ceremony. He was put into possession of his new honours on the 21st of November, and fourteen monks were shorn on the same day. The abbot and his monks went in procession on several occasions; one of these, on the eighth of December, was remarkable, as the sanctuary-men,* or persons who had been guilty of crimes, and had taken refuge in the abbey to avoid the consequences, walked with the monks on that day. The abbot was preceded by those who had been guilty of lesser offences, such as robbery, &c., and followed by three who had been *guilty of murder*. Thus, as Strype observes, the abbey was restored to its *former privileges*! Its inmates were not negligent in claiming them. One Wakeham, a prisoner in the Tower, having escaped, took refuge in the monastery at Westminster, but was taken from thence and sent to the Tower by order of the privy council. The monks, however, asserted their privileges, and in a fortnight's time the criminal was restored to them!

The queen also re-established a nunnery of the order of St. Bridget, at Sion, in Middlesex. Strype relates, that when these nuns "were enclosed in," Bonner and Freckenham, with some of the council, and several friars, were present. Their habit was of undyed wool: they were directed to be very circumspect in their conduct, and warned that "they were never more to go forth of those walls so long as they lived."† One of the queen's later foundations was an establishment of the Knights of St. John, at Clerkenwell.

In Strype, we find several particulars respecting these mon-

* These sanctuary-men were cross keys (the pope's arms) worked on their garments as badges. One of them was a son of Lord Dacre, who, in the May preceding, with a party of forty men, had waylaid a gentleman of the name of West, in Yorkshire, and murdered him!

† In chapter vi. there are several particulars stated respecting monastic establishments, and some remarks are made upon the mental *slavery* of the system. To the extracts there given, another may be added, from the Rev. Blanco White's "Letters from Spain." He is speaking of the religious anxiety felt by many Romish recluses, and he says: "The numerous and difficult duties attached to the religious profession multiply the hazards of eternal misery, by the chances of failure in their performance. Reduced to a state of *perpetual anxiety*, she (a nun) can hardly think, speak, or act, without discerning, in every vital motion, a sin which invalidates all her past sacrifices, and dooms her painful efforts after Christian perfection to end in everlasting misery. These *agonising fears*, cherished and fed by the small circle of objects to which a nun is confined, are generally incurable."

The writer of this note has *seen* the expression of agony, and *heard* the exclamation of anxious self-accusation manifested by a *British nun*, for a circumstance of the most trivial nature; it clearly indicated the *mental bondage* and *religious anxiety* attendant upon the system, even in our own land.

A modern work, entitled "Rome in the Nineteenth Century," contains many painful details relative to the monastic system, as it now exists in Italy. One narrative will suffice: "A girl, whose father was resolved to compel her to take the veil contrary to her inclination, persisted for a long time in her refusal, but was treated with such brutality at home, that at length she consented; but no sooner had she pronounced the vows (at a convent in the north of Italy), than she requested a private interview with her father, at the gate of the convent; and, when left alone with him, killed herself before his eyes, cursing him with her latest breath." The author adds, "This story, horrible and improbable as it may seem, is *quite true*; I know the family, but refrain, for obvious reasons, from mentioning their name."

asteries. At Greenwich, the abbot restored the bones of King Edward the Confessor to his shrine, with much ceremony, hoping that pilgrimages would again come into fashion, and that his house would profit by the offerings of the pilgrims. In like manner, the monks of Glastonbury desired to have their abbey granted to them again, and petitioned the queen to countenance the re-erection of that house of antiquity and fame, where Joseph of Arimathea (as the legends relate) lieth buried. Her desire to promote pilgrimages also appeared from her refounding the hospital in the Savoy, which was originally designed for the relief of pilgrims to the tomb of Thomas à Becket and the neighbouring saints.

As the belief of purgatory was restored, these endowments would have rapidly increased in a few years, by grants from persons of all ranks. Cardinal Pole personally addressed the citizens of London, urging them to assist in rebuilding the monasteries, by the most powerful arguments he could devise. He referred to the martyrs, contemptuously styling them brambles and briars, which had been cast into the fire. In this address he told the citizens that the observance of ceremonies gave more light than the reading of Scripture!

But Queen Mary and her advisers were aware that these establishments could not be fully restored, nor would they be revered by the people, while the condemning proofs of their infamy, recorded by the commissioners who examined them in King Henry's reign, were allowed to exist. These could not be confuted, but it was possible to destroy them! On the 23d of September, a commission was granted to Bonner, Cole, and Martin, ordering them "to search all registers, and collect whatever tended to the subversion of good religion and religious houses;" these were to be carried to Cardinal Pole, and disposed of as the queen might direct. The effects of this commission still are visible. When Burnet examined the public records, he found that many were missing, and others were altered. Some of these deficiencies he supplied by copies which were extant in other places, and some have been since discovered; but the greater part were irrecoverably lost. This destruction, however, speaks still more forcibly against Romanism than the contents of the documents could have done, had they been suffered to remain. Like many other proceedings of the Church of Rome, it appears to be an imitation of the practices of the heathens, who, in their later persecutions, were anxious to destroy all the registers and books of the Christians.

On looking over the journal in this reign, in Strype's annals, the reader cannot but remark the frequent mention of "goodly processions" in honour of various Romish saints and festivals. They frequently occasioned trouble to the Protestants. It was well known that they could not join in these idolatrous ceremonies; and such as refused to accom-

passy them, or did not treat them with sufficient reverence at once became "marked men." The troubles of *Gertrude Cokay* sufficiently prove this: In December, 1556, the popish boy saint, St. Nicholas, went about the parish of St. Katherine's, where she resided. Instead of receiving his blessing, she shut her doors against him and his train. The next day came Dr. Mallett, the master of St. Katherine's, and inquired why she refused to admit St. Nicholas. "Indeed, sir," said she, "there was no St. Nicholas here; there was one that is my neighbour's child, but St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, for I have heard of people being robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks." The remainder of her history may be related in this place, although some of the circumstances occurred in the following year. For a time she was allowed to escape, by attending the Romish public worship, of which she afterward repented; still she was noted as one inclined to heresy. Being dangerously ill, Dr. Mallett came to persuade her to receive the sacrament; but she declining to take it,* the doctor told her daughter that her mother was a heretic, and should not be buried in Christian burial. "Oh!" said the sufferer, "how happy am I that I shall not rise with them, but against them!" Dr. Mallett called again, with Dr. West, the queen's chaplain. She then positively refused to receive the mass, declaring it was abominable. "How came you of that opinion?" said Dr. West. "There," said she, pointing to Mallett, "is he that first taught me this doctrine; and if God shall lay our sins to our charge if we repent not, much worse his offence, being once a public preacher of the same, and now turned from it!" Mallett told her he was then deceived by *little new-fangled two-penny books*,† as she was now; adding, "but now I am otherwise persuaded, as I would have you to be, and to receive the sacrament, which if you would, you should be saved, I warrant you, my soul for yours!" "No," said she, "ye be come to rob me of my Christ, which I will never consent to."

She died in peace a few days afterward, when Dr. Mallett ordered that she should be buried in the highway, and a mark set up, to denote the burial-place of a heretic; but the husband being a Romanist, and a friend of Dr. Mallett's, with much difficulty obtained leave to bury her in his garden!

The processions on the festival of St. Nicholas are repeat-

* As an excuse for not receiving the Romish sacrament, she pleaded her illness, which did not allow her to retain food upon her stomach; this was admitted; for, although, amid the nauseous details of Romanism, such a case is expressly provided for, yet the wafer is not to be treated with intentional disrespect. Blanco White relates, that in Spain, when a sick man has received this *Vaticum*, as it is called, the clerk administers a glass of water, and demands, "Has his majesty gone down?" Even a particle is not to be suffered to lodge in a hollow tooth! The reader will remark to what absurdities the doctrine of the *real presence* must lead.

† The Romanists have always been violent in their abuse of Protestant religious tracts.

edly mentioned by the historians of those days. They had been discontinued in the year 1542, by order of Henry the Eighth, but were revived by Mary, as well as many other Romish ceremonies. The choir boys in every cathedral, and in many parishes, chose one of their number, who was clothed in episcopal robes, and performed the principal ceremonies of the church, except mass, from the 6th of December to Innocents' Day, the 28th of the same month. During this interval, the boy preached and walked in public procession, attended by many followers, among whom thieves often introduced themselves, and took advantage of the crowd to commit thefts, for which there was much opportunity, as all persons were expected to receive the procession into their houses.*

Reader, advert to the principal circumstances recorded in this and the preceding chapter: picture to yourself (if it is possible so to do) a large fire, and thirteen of your fellow-countrymen and women BURNING ALIVE in the midst, charged with no offence excepting matters of opinion—view persons in authority committing an infant of an hour old to the flames, and deliberately, according to *their* doctrines, consigning its soul to “the fire which is not quenched”—imagine you see the queen, with her council, urging on these bloody scenes, and issuing mandates for the re-establishment of those haunts of vice and misery, the old monastic establishments of the land—then you will have a faint idea of England in “the Days of Queen Mary!”

Ought not these things to make you more anxious to participate in the spiritual blessings now so freely offered to you in our Protestant country? Refuse not to listen to the glad tidings of salvation; turn to the Saviour, who came to seek and to save that which is lost; implore the influences of the Holy Spirit, and let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

* The reader may wish to know why these honours were paid to this Romish saint, as a child; two of his many wonderful actions will explain this matter. It is said that, when an infant at the breast, he regularly fasted every Wednesday and Friday! An innkeeper of Myra had murdered two children, cut them in pieces, and salted them, intending to sell them for pickled meat. St. Nicholas, being informed of this in a vision, went to the house and worked a miracle; the pieces became properly united, and the children, being restored to life, got out of the pickle tub, and threw themselves at the feet of this saint! He was, therefore, considered as the patron saint of children. The ceremonies were observed to keep his miracles in mind; and, among the pictures in the old missals, we see the innkeeper chopping up the children, and the saint restoring them to life!

Among the prayers in the primer for the use of children, printed in this reign, is the following, which is the collect *still* used by the Romish Church on December the 6th:

“O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that, by his merits and prayers, we may be delivered from the fire of hell.” The service for that day commemorates some of his wonderful actions, and declares “that he intercedes for the sins of all people.” Oh! let Protestants rejoice that they are not taught to lean upon such a broken reed.

CHAPTER XII.

Visitation of the Universities.—Proceedings against the Protestants continued.—The Romish Mass.—A.D. 1557.



Twenty-two Protestants fastened together, and driven on foot from Colchester to London. (See p. 234.)

THE annals of Queen Mary present only a succession of painful objects. The mind, fatigued and harassed with the cruel atrocities perpetrated by Bonner and his compeers under her sanction, vainly seeks for more pleasing themes; the only alternatives are the mummeries and superstitions of Romanism.

Details of this nature claim our attention at the commencement of the year 1557. Cardinal Pole now turned his attention to the universities; and, well remembering the many preachers of the Gospel that had proceeded from Cambridge, he first sent his visiters thither. They were Scott, bishop of Chester; an Italian ecclesiastic, named Ormaneto; Watson, bishop of Lincoln; Christopherson, bishop of Chichester; and Cole, the provost of Eton. Notice having been given of their coming, two men of every parish were sworn as *inquirers* respecting Lollardy, heresy, heretical books, those who

were negligent in the church services, and other similar matters.

On the 9th of January, the inquisitors arrived. The next day they put two churches under an interdict, because the bodies of noted heretics were buried in them; namely, those excellent men, Bucer and Phagius; the former having been interred in St. Mary's, and the latter in St. Michael's. They had been buried about seven years; and since Queen Mary's accession, the Romish priests had celebrated mass, and their usual ceremonies, in these churches, without hesitation, but now they were declared to be profane and unholy. The next day the members of the University assembled at Trinity College, where the visitors being seated in state, the vice-chancellor sprinkled them with holy water, and the University orator pronounced a Latin oration, full of invectives against heresy, and praises of Cardinal Pole. They proceeded, on that and the following days, to visit the different colleges, examining whether the Romish ceremonies were duly performed, and inquiring into the belief of every individual member of the University. Notice was given, that whoever might be inclined to defend Bucer and Phagius, or their doctrines, should appear before the visitors on the 18th. That day came: the decayed carcasses, of course, had nothing to say for themselves, and no man thought it worth while to plead in their behalf, being well aware of the consequences; but the inquisitors, showing more courtesy towards the dead bodies than Bonner usually manifested towards their living disciples, delayed pronouncing judgment till the 26th.

On that day all was prepared. The Bishop of Chester began with a set oration, showing what he called the evil doctrines of Bucer and Phagius; and stating that, from their natural inclination to mercy, the commissioners very unwillingly proceeded against these heretics, but did so from their regard to the salvation of the members of the University! Sentence was pronounced that their bodies should be digged from the grave, and delivered over to the secular power. Perne, the vice-chancellor, then preached a sermon from the text, "Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"—(Psalm cxxxlii., 1.) This he referred to the pope, from whom alone, he said, this unity was derived, and from which, as he declared, all were excluded that rejected his authority. Similar doctrines are openly maintained by Romanists, even in England, at the present day. He also spoke much against Bucer, alleging many untruths respecting his doctrines; although it is related that, in a private conversation with a friend, he expressed a wish that God would grant that his soul might depart and remain with Bucer's; for he well knew

the life of that Reformer was such, that if any man might hope for heaven, *he* was sure of it.

On the day called the feast of purification of the Virgin the Bishop of Lincoln preached. He also spoke much against Bucer and Phagius. Referring to the circumstance they then commemorated, he, with unblushing assurance, declared that Joseph and Mary, with our Blessed Lord, had observed the rites and ceremonies practised by the Romish Church! Wishing to inspire his auditors with high notions of the importance of processions, he said that Joseph and Mary, on that occasion, went in procession to the Temple, bearing wax candles, as the Church of Rome had ever since continued to do! This absurdity could not be spoken at Cambridge without exciting the derision of its scholars.

On the 6th of February the dead carcasses were taken up. The coffins were carried with much ceremony to the market-place; and there, being chained to a stake, they were burned with a large quantity of Bibles and other Protestant books, which had been found during the examination of the colleges. It was market-day; consequently, vast numbers of the country people beheld this scene. The folly of such a proceeding made a deep impression; and the spectators were not a little amused at seeing the coffins fastened to the stake with an iron chain, guarded by men with weapons, as if they feared the deceased heretics would come to life and run away! The Bishop of London preached while the books and bodies were consuming, and dwelt upon the evils which, he said, had happened to the kingdom "while religion was defaced with sects," and the Romish worship laid aside.

The two churches of St. Mary and St. Michael were consecrated anew. On this occasion the host was carried back to them with a grand procession. Various statutes were enacted for the future government of the University, scrupulously pointing out the minor forms to be observed during their superstitious ceremonies, and even giving directions for the clean wearing of their surplices. Having thus, like the Pharisees of old (Matt., xxiii.), cleansed the outside of the cup and platter, and having left directions respecting the mint, anise, and cummin, but having omitted the weightier matters of the law of God, judgment, mercy, and faith, the visitors left the University and returned to London. Such a system was not likely to continue, unless the truths of the Gospel could have been utterly put aside. Of this Swinborn, the master of Clare Hall, who had been severely reprimanded for not having a *pix* in his chapel, showed his full expectation. All the heads of colleges were ordered to take copies of these new statutes; Swinborn, being asked whether he would have one upon paper or upon parchment, replied that paper or a still lighter material would do, for even a slender-er matter would last longer than these statutes would con-

tinne in force. His conjecture was fulfilled: in less than two years Queen Elizabeth came to the throne; and, shortly afterward, sermons and orations were publicly made at Cambridge to commemorate the illustrious Reformers, Bucer and Phagius. On that occasion, also, Perne presided as vice-chancellor! In fact, he turned so repeatedly, that he became a by-word and a proverb.

The visitors were then sent to Oxford, where they examined the colleges, and searched for heretical books, as they had done at Cambridge. These were burned; and it was intended that the remains of Peter Martyr's wife should have shared the same fate, but a difficulty ensued. She was a foreigner, and noted for charity and kindness to the poor; but no person could be found to bear witness of any heretical expression she had used. All stated that she conversed only in a foreign language, which they understood not! But Romanism is ever fertile in expedients; it was well known that she had been a nun, and her remains were now lying next to the bones of the popish saint, St. Frideswide! Cardinal Pole, therefore, sent a mandate to Marshall, the dean of Christ Church, ordering that she should be cast out from consecrated ground. He assembled his officers, dug up her body, and buried it in a dunghill! On the restoration of Protestantism, Dr. Parker and others determined, that although to the deceased Christian herself it was no matter where her bones reposed, yet, for the credit of our nation and religion, it was not right that the remains of one who was so nearly connected with Peter Martyr should be disgracefully treated; and, to prevent the repetition of such a scene if popery should again obtain the mastery, they opened the shrine of St. Frideswide, and mingled the bones of the Romish saint with those of this blessed saint, "that," as Fox observes, "in case any cardinal will be so mad hereafter as to remove this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for him to discern the bones of her from the other."

Cardinal Pole also strictly examined the state of his own diocese. His injunctions on this occasion show us his character. He enforced a greater degree of regularity of life, both among the clergy and the laity, but was also precise in his orders respecting the due performance of superstitious rites and ceremonies. Accordingly, we find an inquiry made in every parish whether there was "a rood in the church of a decent stature with Mary and John,* and an image of the

* The accounts of Crindall, a small parish in Kent, show the expense of this wooden god. The articles therein specified were prepared to fulfil the cardinal's injunctions, and present a striking exemplification of the words of the Prophet Isaiah, ch. xlv.

Paid a joiner in Canterbury for making the rood, Mary, and John, and painting the same.....	s. d.
For setting up the rood, Mary, and John, and for paper and thread to trim (dress) the same.....	40 0
	1 6

patron saint;" also, "whether the sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with lights, and with a little sacring bell."

In the early part of this year farther steps were taken towards establishing a tribunal like the Inquisition. This was promoted by Philip; and a commission was issued in February, appointing the Bishops of London and Ely, with twenty others, ecclesiastics and laymen, to inquire and search after heresies and heretics, especially those who opposed the Romish doctrines respecting the sacrament of the altar.

They, or any three of them, were, "from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means for the trial and searching out these offences as they might think most expedient and necessary." They might deliver suspected persons to the ecclesiastical authorities, upon inquiry and due proof, by the confession of the parties, by witnesses, or BY ANY OTHER WAYS OR MEANS REQUISITE.* They might punish them "by fine, imprisonment, or OTHERWISE," as they thought proper. This power was given for one year, and might be continued at the royal pleasure.

Inferior commissions of the same nature had been already issued.† It would be difficult to show how they differed from the Inquisition; and it appears, beyond doubt, that designs were entertained of establishing such a court. The circumstances which led to the issuing of this commission must have satisfied the queen and her counsellors that Romanism could not be fully restored without the aid of that dread tribunal.

Burnet has given an exact transcript of this inquisitorial commission, which well deserves attention. The power and authority given to the inquisitors are excessive and uncontrolled. If any person disobeyed their orders in any manner, they had authority to commit them to prison, to keep

Making a coffin for the sepulchre.....	s. d.
Making a desk and little cupboard for the chrismatory.....	0 8
For a lock and key to the Font	0 10
Making two child's rochets, mending the albs, vestments, and crose cloths, and for new cloth.....	0 5
	2 6

This parish was witness to the awful death of its priest, one Nightingale. He had been to Canterbury; and the next Sunday, while preaching, told his congregation that the cardinal had, by the power of the pope's bull, absolved him and made him as clear from sin as when he was born, so that he cared not if he died that very hour. He had scarcely uttered the words when he fell down in the pulpit and expired!

* By these expressions, the inquisitors were authorized to inflict TORTURE upon accused persons, or witnesses, if they pleased.

† Of these proceedings, a specimen is preserved, in a complaint against the favourers of the Gospel in Ipswich, exhibited to the inquisitors, in May, 1556, by their sworn informers; it contains the names of forty-one individuals, who had fled out of the town, and lurked in secret places; of twenty-three who had not received the sacrament (at Easter); of thirteen who did not observe ceremonies; of five priests who lived with their wives; of nine who opposed these proceedings, two of whom are noted as being rich; and concludes with a special request that four individuals, who were specified, might be punished, as their being made examples would have considerable effect! Such a system needs no comment.

them there as long as they pleased. They might impose any fines they thought fit, from which their assistants were to be rewarded, as they might appoint; and, if necessary, cause the fines to be levied by the power of the Court of Chancery. Not only suspected persons were required to answer before them, but any witnesses they thought proper to call might be examined, and "*compelled to answer.*" We must also recollect that the exercise of these extraordinary powers was not confined to the whole body of twenty-two commissioners, but *any three* of them might proceed in this inquisition, by "all means and politic ways they could devise;" and they had power to execute this commission, "notwithstanding any laws, statutes, proclamations, grants, privileges, or ordinance which be, or may seem to be, contrary."

The following remarks from "Rome in the Nineteenth Century" are appropriate. The "Inquisition at Rome has always been remarkable for its mildness; and, compared with the horrible and tyrannical iniquity of the same tribunal at Venice and Madrid, it deserves the epithet of lenient. Nothing, however, can alter its nature, or make a court, whose proceedings are secret, whose decision is absolute, whose information is derived from insidious spies, whose accusers are concealed, and unopposed with the accused, whose judges are not accountable, and who can inflict imprisonment and torture, to any extent, on the unconvicted; nothing can make such an institution as this anything but an execrable and diabolical engine of cruelty, injustice, and oppression."

Such is the power of THE INQUISITION at the present day, in its mildest form!* We cannot but mark its conformity to the commission just noticed; and from the account of the proceedings against the martyrs, we shall see that the resemblance failed not in a single point, when reduced to practice.

* During the late war in Spain the Inquisition was abolished, but it was revived by the king after the peace. In the year 1820, it was again suppressed for a short time by the Cortes. *Llorente*, who formerly was secretary to the Inquisition, relates, on the authority of a person who was present at the opening of this prison in Madrid, in 1820, that twenty-one prisoners were found in it, none of whom knew the name of the city in which he was, such was the secrecy with which he had been apprehended. Some had been confined three years; some a longer period; and not one knew perfectly the nature of the crime of which he was accused. One of these prisoners had been condemned, and was to have suffered on the following day! His punishment was to be "Death by the *Pendulum.*" It is inflicted thus: the condemned is fastened in a groove upon a table, on his back; a pendulum is suspended above him, the edge of which is sharp, and it is so constructed as to lengthen with every movement. The victim sees this implement of destruction swinging to and fro above him; and every moment the keen edge approaches nearer and nearer, while he is unable to move or shrink from it in the least! At length it cuts the skin of his nose, and gradually cuts on through his face, until life is extinct! What horrid refinement of cruelty does such an instrument display! and yet it is among the most merciful of all the inventions of that vile institution. Let it be remembered, this was a secret punishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1820, and that the horrid tribunal is again established.

We have now to resume the details respecting those who suffered for professing the truths of the Gospel. On the 15th of January, six men were burned in one fire at Canterbury; their names were KEMP, WATERER, PROUTING, LOWICK, HUDSON, and HAY. Their accusations were in the customary form, for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, and objecting to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome. Two of their companions, FINAL and BAINBRIDGE, were burned at Ashford on the following day, and two others, STEPHENS and PHILPOT, suffered at Wye.

The effects of the proceedings of the inquisitors above mentioned were soon manifest. In some parts they could not be conducted with greater rigour than had already been adopted. During the preceding autumn, Justice Brown, a noted inquisitor, went to Colchester, and caused diligent search to be made in every house, and all strangers to be apprehended and examined; "for this place," said he, "is a harbour for all the heretics, and ever was." Twenty-two were soon apprehended: they were pinioned together; and though their keepers allowed them occasionally to be loose as they passed along the road, they sought not to escape, but proceeded on their way, remembering the declaration of our Lord to his disciples, "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my name's sake;" and the people, as they passed along, prayed to the Lord to strengthen them. When they approached London they were secured more carefully, and led through the streets in open day. Fox inserts the letters which passed between Bonner and his commissary relative to this party. The inquisitors by whom they had been apprehended compelled a commissary to take charge of them; and states to Bonner how he agreed with four men, for the sum of forty-six shillings and eightpence, to receive this party, being fourteen men and eight women, at three in the morning, "ready bound with gyves (handcuffs) and hemp, and to drive, carry, or lead, and feed with meat and drink, as heretics ought to be found" (reader, mark that!), till they were delivered to the bishop's officers. Bonner wrote to Cardinal Pole, complaining of the expense and trouble these prisoners occasioned him. They were lodged at Aldgate on the night of their arrival; and Bonner states, "He had arranged they should come to him at Fulham very early on Saturday morning, that they might quietly come and be examined by him." But they thought the lesson too important to be lost upon the citizens of London. They were unwilling to set out so early, and refused to proceed, except through the principal streets. They came to the bishop's palace, attended by a thousand persons; and Bonner writes that he had blamed the mayor and sheriffs for suffering this, adding, "These naughty heretics, all the way they came through

'Cheapside, both exhorted the people, and were much comforted by the crowd." Bonner farther states that he had intended to have had them all at Fulham, and there to have pronounced their doom; but, remembering Pole's displeasure at his burning thirteen heretics at Stratford, he wrote for farther instructions. Pole appears to have thought that this wholesale mode of proceeding had attracted too much notice, and that a general disturbance might probably ensue if they were burned. He therefore only required the prisoners to sign a paper, stating that "they believed the sacrament to be Christ's body, according to the word of our Lord, and that they submitted themselves to the Catholic Church of Christ, and promised to live as became good Christian men, and to submit to their superiors according to their bounden duties." These were very different articles from those which had been tendered to others, and as nothing was said respecting the peculiar tenets of Romanism, they signed the declaration, and were set at liberty; but they were *marked* persons, and some of them afterward suffered. Bonner himself was blamed by the council for allowing these prisoners to escape; it was an exception to his general conduct, and he in future proceeded in his accustomed career. About the time when the numerous band just now mentioned was discharged, five others were brought before him. After experiencing very different treatment, they were burned in Smithfield on the 12th of April. Their names were THOMAS LOSEBY, HENRY RAMSAY, THOMAS THIRTEL, MARGARET HYDE, and AGNES STANLEY.

The accusation against them was very full and particular, even stating that they refused to go in procession, that they would not bear tapers on Candlemas Day, nor take ashes on Ash Wednesday, nor bear palms on Palm Sunday, nor creep to the cross, nor kiss the pax, nor receive holy water, &c.* They were enabled to witness a good confession. Thomas Thirtel said, "My lord, if you make me a heretic, then you make Christ and all the twelve apostles heretics; for I am in the true faith and right belief, and I will stand therein, for I know full well that I shall have eternal life therefor."

On the 3d of May, three martyrs, named MORANT, GRATWICK, and KING, were burned in St. George's Fields, Southwark. They were condemned by White, the new Bishop of Winchester. Gratwick's case is worthy of notice. He objected to being examined by that prelate, as he belonged to

* Some of these ceremonies have already been mentioned. Bearing palms is an important ceremony in the Church of Rome. Blanco White mentions that these branches, after having been blessed, are sent by the clergy to their friends, who tie them to the iron bars of their balconies, believing them to be a protection against lightning! The pax is an image, which is handed round to the congregation, and kissed by them, previous to their receiving the consecrated wafer at the sacrament.

the diocese of Chichester. The Bishop of Winchester then consulted with his associates, and they told Gratwick his own bishop would soon be there! Presently a servant announced that the Bishop of Chichester was come, when a priest entered, who pretended to be that prelate, and was welcomed by the others as such. This impostor then required Gratwick to answer. In the usual examinations as to the doctrine of the sacrament, Gratwick quoted a text, and complained that the prisoners were not allowed to keep their Testaments "No," said Bishop White, "we will use you as a child; for if the child will hurt himself with a knife, we will keep the knife from him. So, because you will *damn your souls with the Word*, therefore you shall not have it!" Another expression of this Romish prelate shows the manner in which these martyrs were tried, and the increasing sympathy towards the sufferers for the truth. "The last day when thou wast before me, upon Sunday, in St. Mary Overy's Church," said the bishop, "thou reprovdst my sermon,* and hadst a thousand by thee, at the least, to bid God strengthen thee; but *now* let me see him *here* that dare open his mouth to bid God strengthen thee, and he shall die the death that thou shalt die!"

On the 7th of May, RICHARD SHARPE and THOMAS HALE were burned at Bristol. Sharpe was a weaver, and had been persuaded to recant in the preceding year, but shortly afterward came into Temple Church, and openly testified his sorrow for what he had done. The constables were ordered to seize him, but they allowed him to leave the church without interruption. He was afterward apprehended in the night; and, denying the Romish doctrine respecting the sacrament, was condemned and burned. Hale, also, was taken from his house in the night, and condemned.

In Pole's own diocese, the persecution now raged with great fury. Some have attributed this to his under officers; but there does not appear to be sufficient ground for considering him clear from the blood of these men. On the 18th of June, seven martyrs were burned at Maidstone. These were, JOAN BRADBRIDGE, WALTER APPLEBY and his wife, EDMUND ALLIN and his wife, a woman named MANNINGS, and a *blind girl* named ELIZABETH. Allin was a miller at Frittenden, and was noted for his kindness to the poor; not only selling them flour at a cheap rate in times of dearth, but also feeding them with the bread of life, by frequently reading and expounding the Scriptures. The Romish priest of his parish caused him to be apprehended for this, and for absenting himself from mass. On searching his house, they found Bibles, psalters, and other

* The bishop, in his sermon, had accused the prisoners of being Arians and Anabaptists. This they publicly denied; upon which the lordly prelate said, if they were not silent, their tongues should be cut out!

good books; also a sum of money, which the persecutors appropriated to themselves. He was carried before Sir John Baker, who accused him of keeping conventicles, and inquired how he dared to interpret the Scriptures. Allin defended what he had done on Scriptural grounds. The justice, and Collins his Romish chaplain, had nothing to say, but they told Allin that he did not understand scholastic divinity! This the good miller did not dispute, but continued to refer to Scripture, alleging that from Christians should proceed the light of the Gospel; and adding, "If we must give a reason for our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then we must study the Scriptures, and practise them." The priest, at length, stopped him, saying he supposed he would soon assert that a priest had no more authority than others; adding, "Doth not a priest bind and loose?" "No," said Allin: "my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth; God forgiveth sin only, and no priest." After farther questions, they put him into the stocks till the next day, when they endeavoured to persuade him to go to mass. He again argued from Scripture, replying to one of their quibbles, "If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess; if, as you say, he occupies no space, then is our study in vain, our faith frustrate, and our hopes without reward!" "This rebel will believe nothing but Scripture," said the chaplain; "how knowest thou that it is Scripture but by the Church? and so saith St. Austin." The martyr felt that he was on firm ground, and replied, "I know not what St. Austin saith, but I am persuaded this is Scripture by several arguments. First, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me that I of myself am damned; and this damnation, Master Collins, you must find in yourself, else you will never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation, so a (vain) glorious and Romish faith, without the lamentation of a man's sin, is presumption. The second is the Gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. This Spirit, saith St. Paul, certifieth my spirit, that Jesus is the Son of God, and that these are the Scriptures. The third is the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as a God. And, fourthly, because the Word of God gave authority to the Church [of Christ] in paradise, saying, that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head. This seed is [Christ, as revealed by] the Gospel; this is the sum of the Scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life." His

* In "*The Life of the Holy Virgin, Mother of God*," printed at Mons, 1788, by authority, this text is applied to the Virgin herself, as explaining the cause of the hatred of all heretics towards her! It gives the text thus: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, who shall bruise thy head" and says she has bruised the head of the serpent, being herself exempted from original sin, and being the mother of the Saviour! The Church of Rome may well desire to prevent the reading of the Scriptures.

examination was soon closed, and he was condemned. *Strype* states that two MARTYRS were burned in St. George's Fields on the same day. They are not mentioned by *Fox*, but the authority of persons residing in London at the same time cannot be disputed, and it is a proof that *Fox* has not exaggerated the number of sufferers.

On the day following, seven martyrs were burned at Canterbury: three men, named WHITE, FISHCOCK, and PARDUE; and four women, named FINAL, BRADBRIDGE, WILSON, and BENDEN. The sufferings of the last woman deserve notice. She was imprisoned in the October preceding, for absenting herself from church, but was set at liberty, and returned home to her parish of Staplehurst. On the next Sunday her husband required her to go to church, which she refused; upon this he went and gave such an account of his wife, that a neighbouring justice ordered the constable to take her to Canterbury jail. To complete her husband's infamy, he agreed with the constable to carry his wife to prison for a trifling sum of money! But she, unwilling that he should incur this additional guilt, went herself to the constable, and urged him to go with her. He wished to avoid the trouble, but at last consented to send his boy with her; and, thus attended, she went to Canterbury and surrendered herself to the jailer. Being at first imprisoned in the castle, she and a woman named Potkin lived for some time for twopence halfpenny a day (provisions were then exceedingly dear); they did so, being told that, when they were removed to the bishop's prison, they would only be allowed three farthings each for their daily support! After Benden had been removed there, her husband went to the bishop, requesting her liberation; but being refused on account of her continuing steadfast in the faith, this unnatural husband informed the bishop that her brother had contrived to see his wife, and send her money. Upon this she was put into a vault in the bishop's prison, called Monday's Hole, and orders were given to apprehend the brother if he appeared. The dungeon had one window, before which were pales, so high that a man could hardly look over. The brother sought for her with considerable danger to himself; but in vain, as the place was little known. He continued in search for five weeks; at length, one morning, as he was searching round the prison, he heard his sister's voice repeating a psalm, and, looking over the pales, saw her in the dungeon. He then put money into a loaf of bread, which he fixed on the end of a pole, and contrived to place it within her reach. She was only allowed a little straw to lie upon; and, as had been told her, the allowance

In the same work, the Virgin Mary is represented as delivering a people from pestilence; and under a picture, representing the supplications addressed to her on this occasion, is written, "These poor creatures are indebted to your support alone for their deliverance. Death, without you, would have ended their sufferings; they would all have been destroyed!"

for her sustenance was but three farthings a day; at that time provisions were nearly at their present price, owing to the dearth which prevailed! In this dungeon she was kept nine weeks, without being allowed to change her clothes, till, being almost devoured by vermin, "at length she became most piteous, and loathsome to behold." At first the sufferer felt much afflicted, and was ready to expostulate with God for permitting such aggravations of her miseries. One night, while engaged in sorrowful musings, several passages in the Psalms occurred to her mind, such as, "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him for the light of his countenance;" and it pleased the Lord to apply these precious words with comfort to her soul. From that time she continued very joyful amid all her accumulated miseries. On the 25th of March she was examined, and condemned with her fellow-martyrs. They suffered on the 19th of June, and met the terrible death prepared for them with faith and patience.

Ten others were burned at Lewes on the 22d of June. Their names were, RICHARD WOODMAN, DENNIS BURGESS, GEORGE STEVENS, ALEXANDER HOOMAN, with two of his servants, MARGERY MORRIS and her son; also two other women, named ASHDON and GROVES.

Woodman was an iron-founder, of the parish of Warbleton, in Sussex. On the accession of Queen Mary, the priest of his parish, like many others, immediately returned to popery, and began to preach directly against the truths he had exhorted his parishioners to believe during King Edward's reign. Woodman, hearing this, openly reproved him for this shameless conduct. Some neighbouring justices caused him to be apprehended; he was sent to London, and imprisoned for a year and a half. At length, on the very day Philpot was burned, Bonner set him and four others at liberty, merely requiring them to be honest men and members of the true Catholic Church, and desiring that they would speak good of him! This deliverance was unexpected, as, only two days before, Bonner had declared that they should be condemned. The merciful fit speedily passed away, as the very next day Bonner ordered strict search to be made for some of them.

Woodman then returned home, but his popish neighbours soon caused warrants to be issued against him. The officers found him ploughing with his men; as they had not brought their warrant, Woodman refused to go with them; and while they went for it, he concealed himself in an adjoining wood. They searched in vain throughout the country from Portsmouth to Dover, while he remained in the wood; and, as he says, "There I had my Bible, my pen and ink, and other necessities, my wife bringing me meat daily, as I had need." He then escaped to Flanders; but soon re-

turned home, and continued there till his *own brother* delivered him into the hands of the Romish prelates! He had placed a considerable property with his father and brother to pay his debts, and the remainder was to be employed for the benefit of his wife and children. It was worth £200 more than his debts; but they gave out that it was not sufficient. Upon this, he urged to have his affairs settled; the father appointed a day; but the brother, unwilling to resign what he had no right to keep, informed the sheriff that Woodman was at home, and his house was beset by a number of men, who concealed themselves for some hours in the neighbouring woods. At nine in the evening he was in bed, when one of his children rushed in, exclaiming, "Mother, mother, here come twenty men." Woodman then knew he was betrayed; the alarm was so sudden that he scarcely had time to hurry on part of his clothes and conceal himself in a secret place over the hall, which had hitherto escaped notice, although the house had been searched many times. The officers had been told by the brother that there was a hiding-place of this kind, and they now sought for it, but in vain. One of them then went to the brother, who described the hidden loft more particularly, and they found where it was; but while they sought for the entrance, Woodman broke through the roof and leaped safely to the ground. He nearly escaped his pursuers; but, having no shoes, some sharp cinders cut his feet so that he fell, and before he could recover himself, the foremost came up and seized him. They brought him to his house, where he found his father. "The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me," said the martyr: "The father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother to death, as it is this day come to pass!" The officers then bound him, and led him away; he went, rejoicing that he was counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake. He took leave of his wife and children, not expecting to see them again, the papists having openly said that he should be burned within six days, if they could but find him.

On the 12th of April, 1557, he was again brought to London, and examined six times before the Romish prelates. They tried hard to persuade him to recant, but could not in the least prevail. The Bishop of Chichester, his diocesan, well knew the extent of Woodman's influence, and addressed him in honeyed terms: "No doubt you shall do well, therefore, gentle good man Woodman, be ruled!" and caused him to dine at his table! This language, however, was soon changed for Story's brutal declaration, "You shall preach at a stake shortly with your fellows!"

Woodman wrote full particulars of his six examinations, which are given at length by Fox. Among other things, he was accused of having baptized one of his own children, and for writing an angry letter to the priest of his parish who

had taken the child by force; and baptized it according to the Romish ceremonial. Dr. Langdale told him if this had not been done, and "if the child had died, it had been damned, *because it was not christened.*" Woodman declared that he had not baptized the child himself, but that it had been christened by the midwife, while he was from home. As already mentioned, this was an allowed practice when children appeared likely to die. Farther conversation on the subject then ensued: Woodman inquired, "Are all damned that receive not the *outward sign* of baptism?" "Yea, that they are," replied the doctor; and he attempted to wrest Scripture to his purpose. Woodman said, "Then, by your saying, baptism bringeth faith, and all that are baptized in the water shall be saved?" "Yea," replied the popish doctor, "that they shall: if they die before they come to discretion, they shall be saved, every one of them; and *all that be not baptized shall be damned, every one of them.*" No comment on this declaration is necessary! Dr. Langdale afterward added, "I say the child hath no faith before it is baptized, and *therefore* the baptizing bringeth the faith!" From this subject they proceeded to original sin and free-will, and at length arrived at the grand point, the sacrament of the altar.

The doctor was well versed in Romish sophistries; and the examination shows how one popish error hangs upon another, but proves that the whole fabric must give way when the follower of the truth argues closely from Scripture. Woodman's remaining examinations were before the Bishop of Winchester, and turned, as usual, upon the sacrament.

The Romanists urged that the bread was changed into Christ's body, and that Judas did eat of that very body. Woodman had argued with Dr. Langdale, "If what Judas ate was the real body of Christ, then they must admit that Judas was saved; for Christ saith (John, vi.), 'Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him at the last day.'" This having been said in the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester, gave him authority to judge Woodman as a heretic; and he proceeded accordingly, saying, "We go not about to condemn thee, but to *save* thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee." The martyr, indignant at this falsehood, exclaimed, "To save my soul! Nay, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already; I praise God therefor. There can no man save my soul but Jesus Christ, and he it is that hath saved my soul before the foundation of the world was laid;" quoting Ephesians, i., 4. He was quickly condemned, and burned at Lewes on June the 22d, with nine others, eight of whom were despatched far more quickly than himself, having been apprehended only one, or, at most, two days before!

An extract of a letter written by Woodman may be added

here. It was addressed to "Mistress Roberts, a Christian woman, at Hawkhurst," in Kent.

"Dear Sister—It is not, as many affirm in these days, to say God asketh only a man's heart. For St. James saith The devils have faith, and tremble for fear, and yet are by devils still, because their minds were never to do good. Let us not, therefore, be like them, but let our faith be made manifest to the whole world by our deeds; and in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, as St. Paul saith, let your light shine as in a dark place. 'How is it that some will say that their faith is good, and yet they do the deeds of the devil?' St. Paul saith, that to believe with the heart justified and to confess with the mouth maketh a man safe. O, good God, all men may see that no man or woman can have a true faith unless they have deeds also.

"I have no mistrust but, by God's help, all the world shall see and know that my blood shall not be dear in my own sight, whensoever it shall please God to give my adversaries leave to shed it. I do earnestly believe that God, who hath begun this good work in me, will perform it unto the end; and he hath given me grace, and will always, to bear this easy yoke and light burden, as I have always found it to be, I praise my Lord God. For when I have been in prison, wearing sometimes bolts and sometimes shackles, sometimes lying on the bare ground, sometimes sitting in the stocks, sometimes bound with cords, so that all my body hath been swollen, and like to be overcome by the pain that hath been in my flesh; sometimes obliged to lay in the fields and woods wandering to and fro; sometimes brought before the sheriff's justices, lords, doctors, and bishops; sometimes called dog, devil, heretic, traitor, deceiver, thief, with divers other such like foul names. Yea, and even they that did eat of my bread that should have been most my friends by nature, have betrayed me; yet for all this I praise my Lord God—all that hath happened to me hath been easy, light, and most delightful and joyful of any treasure that ever I possessed; for I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings to be true. But after the way that they call heresy, I serve my Lord God; and at all times, before whomsoever I have been brought, God hath given me mouth and wisdom, which all my adversaries have not been able to resist. I praise God therefore.

"Wherefore, if prophecy should fail, and tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear hath painfulness, but perfect love casteth out all fear; which love I have no mistrust but God hath poured it upon you so abundantly, that nothing in the world shall be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to put you from Christ; but by Him, I trust, you shall

"enter into the heavenly Jerusalem, there to live forever, beholding the glory of God."

The persecutors continued their course. On the 13th of July,* SIMON MILLER and ELIZA COOPER were burned at Norwich. The former was a native of Lynn; being at Norwich, she stood to see the people coming out of a church. Some words uttered by him excited suspicion; he was watched, and taken before the bishop's chancellor, who saw a piece of paper sticking out of his shoe. On examination, it proved to be a confession of his faith. Being asked whether he would stand to this, he answered in the affirmative, and was committed to prison. While there, he was allowed, by the favour of the keeper, to go to Lynn to settle his affairs. He then returned to prison, and was burned! We may observe, that although the Protestants in general sought to avoid persecution, following the words of our Lord (Mat., x., 23), yet, when once apprehended and brought to examination, they seemed it their duty firmly to abide the issue.

His stake-fellow had recanted, but, like several others, publicly declared her sorrow for having done so. She was then apprehended and burned. When the fire was kindled she rather shrunk from the flames, with an exclamation of fear: "Be of good courage, sister," said Miller, "for we shall have a joyful supper." Strengthened by these words, she suffered patiently.

Colchester was again the scene of cruel burnings. On the 4th of August, six martyrs were burned there in the morning, and four in the afternoon.† The first party were, WILLIAM LONGEOR, WILLIAM PURCHAS, THOMAS BENOLD, AGNES SILVERSIDE, HELEN EWINS, and a young woman named ELIZABETH FOLKS. Their examinations were similar to those already noticed. Elizabeth Folks, by the favour of one of the examiners, was only asked whether she believed that there was a Catholic Church of Christ; to this, of course, she answered in the affirmative, and was directly given to her uncle's care. The neighbours, finding that she was returned home, were persuaded that she had submitted to the pope. Unable to endure such an imputation, and fearful lest she might become a cause of stumbling to others, she rejoined her companions at their next examination, and there so fully declared her abhorrence of Romish superstitions, and her full determination, by the grace of God, to continue steadfastly to oppose them, that she was condemned with the rest. The Romanists in-

* On the 15th of July, the body of Sir Richard Whittington was taken up; and, being put into a new coffin, again buried, with a solemn service and mass for the repose of his soul, though he had been dead upward of a century, and the Romish Priests had taken their customary dues for his deliverance!

† Another female appears to have been condemned, but was respited from execution by the under-sheriff, for which the council ordered his principal to be fined ten pounds.—See *Strype*.

terraptured these martyrs while praying at the stake. One Clere, who formerly had professed to be a Protestant, was among the most active in showing hatred towards them. The mother of Elizabeth Folks came and kissed her daughter, exhorting her to be strong in the Lord. She was enabled to be so: "Farewell all the world," exclaimed she: "farewell, faith; farewell, hope;" then, clasping the stake, she added, "Welcome, Love, welcome." When the flames were kindled, the six martyrs clapped their hands, while the people cried, "The Lord strengthen them; the Lord comfort them;" and similar expressions.

In the afternoon, WILLIAM MUNT, JOHN JOHNSON, ALICE MUNT, and ROSE ALLEN were burned in the Castle Yard. They suffered with joy and triumph, calling upon the Lord, and exhorting the people to flee from idolatry; and the bystanders rejoiced to see them thus supported.

Many had suffered at Colchester during the preceding part of this reign, and "the blood of the martyrs had been the seed of the Church." A strong testimony to the truth of this was given by Tye, a Romish priest, in a letter to Bonner. He wrote, mentioning the increase of the Protestants, and that, since the return of the twenty-two rank heretics, lately dismissed, "the detestable schismatics" were much increased in boldness: "They assemble together upon the Sabbath-day, during the times of Divine service, in private houses, and there keep their conventicles, and schools of heresy. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester. The ministers of the Church are hemmed at in the public streets, and called knaves; the blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed at in every house and tavern; prayer [he meant Latin prayers] and fasting are not regarded." In this letter Tye particularly spoke of Munt and his wife, and their daughter, Rose Allen, who had been of the number driven to London, and complained that they were bolder than ever.

In the night preceding the first Sunday in Lent, Munt's house was surrounded by Tyrrell and his constables, who, entering their chamber, ordered the family to rise, and prepare to go to prison. The wife, being unwell, requested her daughter might be allowed to fetch her some drink, which being permitted, the girl took a pitcher and a candle, and went to the cellar. As she returned, Tyrrell met her, and told her to persuade her father and mother to become Catholic people; the following dialogue ensued: *Rose*. "Sir, they have a better instructor than I, for the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, and I trust he will not suffer them to err." *Tyrrell*. "Art thou still in that mind, thou naughty housewife! It is high time to look after such heretics." *Rose*. "With what you call heresy do I worship my Lord God." *T*. "Then I perceive you will burn with the rest for compa-

ny's sake." *Rose*. "No, sir, not for company's sake, but for my Christ's sake, if I be so compelled; and I hope in his mercies, that, if he calls me to it, he will enable me to bear it." Tyrrell turned to his company, saying, "Do not you think she will burn?" "Prove her," said one of his brutal companions.* The cruel justice then took the candle from her, and held the back of her hand in the flame for a considerable time, until the sinews cracked. This was confirmed to Fox by a person then present, and by a good woman who applied salve to the poor girl's hand. While suffering this cruel torture, Tyrrell abused her in coarse terms, because she did not cry out. She told him she had no cause to cry out, she thanked God, but rather to rejoice; but that he had cause to weep if he would reflect. At length, the sinews cracking with some noise, he violently thrust her from him. She then took the drink to her mother. "While my hand was burning," said she to a friend, "I had a pitcher in my other hand, and might have laid him on the face with it, if I would, for no one held me; but I thank God with all my heart that I did it not." Another asked her how she could bear the pain; she said at first it was some grief to her, but the longer she burned the less she felt.

Why do the teachers of our youth tell them of the fortitude of a Roman assassin who thrust his hand into the fire, while they suffer the faith and patience of this poor maiden to pass unnoticed? The world loveth its own, and our Lord has himself told us, "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."—(John, xv., 19.) But the fashions of this world pass away; for "the world passeth away, and the lust thereof, but he that doeth the will of God abideth forever;" and when the histories of worldly heroes are forgotten, the sufferings of the least of the saints of the Most High will remain recorded in the Book of Life.

Among the number that suffered at this period, was one of those faithful witnesses for the truth who spent his time in travelling from place to place, secretly encouraging the brethren. His name was George Eagles; he was a tailor by trade; but, as Fox justly observes, should not be lightly spoken of for his profession, any more than the apostles for theirs. Being eloquent, and endowed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Eagles was a valuable member of the persecuted

* This was a common practice among the persecutors of that day; besides Tomkins and others, a blind harper was brought before Bonner, who said the blind wretches who followed heretical preachers would be the first to draw back from the fire when they felt the flames. The blind man replied that, if every joint of his body were burned, still he trusted not to flee. Bonner then sent for a burning coal, and caused his men to put it into the blind man's hand; and they held it there till he was severely burned.

Church of Christ. His mode of life was full of care and anxiety, and his diet was spare and scanty. He frequently lived, for a considerable period, in the fields and woods, in Essex and Suffolk; often lying abroad in the night, without covering, spending his solitary hours in earnest prayer.

This mode of life procured him the name of *Trudge Over*. The Romanists became anxious for his apprehension, and offered twenty pounds (equal to two hundred pounds of our money) as a reward to any one who should take him. He ventured one day into Colchester, thinking to pass unnoticed among a crowd then attending a fair, but was observed. Being pursued, he concealed himself in a cornfield, and for a time escaped the notice of his pursuers. One of them climbed up into a tree, and remained after his companions had given up the search; till at length Eagles, thinking they were all gone, rose upon his knees and began to pray. While in this posture, the Romanist perceived his prey, and seized him.

The council determined to make Eagles an example, in a different manner from that usually pursued. They resolved to punish him as a traitor, under the law which prohibited more than six persons from meeting secretly together. He was also accused of having prayed that God would turn the queen's heart, or take her away. The latter part of this prayer he denied; and being desirous to suffer for conscience' sake, rather than that the remotest semblance of having been an evildoer should be laid to his charge, he gave a full and bold testimony of his faith before the judges, hoping that they would send him to Bonner, as was usually done. Contrary to their general practice, they disregarded this, and sentenced Eagles, as a traitor, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. He was led to the place of execution with two malefactors condemned for felony. The circumstances of his death were painful in the extreme: he was hanged for a few minutes, and then cut down alive; his neck was mangled with a kitchen cleaver, and his body opened; nor did he expire till his heart was plucked out. His mangled corpse was quartered,* and set up in four towns where he was well known.

On the 5th of August, RICHARD CRASHFIELD was burned at Norwich. He was examined, as usual, principally with respect to the sacrament, and defended himself by quoting the words of St. Paul, wherein that apostle expressly calls it bread. "We will have your mind plainly," said Dunning, the bishop's chancellor, "for we intend not to have many words with you." Crashfield replied, "My faith is fully grounded and established, that Christ Jesus, the Easter (Paschal) Lamb, hath offered his blessed body a sacrifice to God the Father,

* Iurdane, the man who was the cause of Eagles's apprehension, was afterward condemned for horse-stealing, tried at the same bar, and hanged at the place of execution where Eagles had suffered.

as the price of my redemption ; for by that only sacrifice all the faithful are sanctified ; and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This he hath done alone, without any of *your daily oblations*." Dr. Bridges started up and said, "Your words are true ; you take well the literal sense ; but this you must understand, that like as you said that Christ offered his body upon the cross, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice, so, likewise, we daily offer *the selfsame* body that was offered upon the cross, but not bloody and visible, but invisible."* "Do you offer Christ's body ?" said Crashfield ; "then Christ's sacrifice was not perfect." The chancellor repeated the text, "Thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both the body and the soul," saying that the Church of Rome possessed such a power ! The martyr set him right, and added, "Christ saith, I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me, saith Christ, but I give it of my own power ; so have I power to take it again. Therefore Christ, the Son of God, did offer His blessed body *once for all*. And if you presume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Christ's power." He was speedily silenced and condemned. At his burning, a man named Carman was apprehended, either for some expressions he used, or for praying with the martyr ; pledging him, as it was then called. These manifestations of sympathy were now strictly forbidden.

The words of the Romish doctors are deserving of notice ; they show the main point upon which the error of the mass turns. The Romanists do not refer to the sacrifice of Christ, *once offered for sins* (Heb., ix., 26-28 ; x., 10, 12, 18), as being sufficient for our salvation, but refer to divers points of will-worship, and, among others, to the sacrifice of the mass, in which they assume to repeat and continue the sufferings of our Lord ; or, to adopt the words of their *Devotion before Communion*, "Here the whole passion and death of Christ is solemnly acted, as a most sacred tragedy, by himself in person." Thus the salvation so freely offered in the Gospel is made of none effect without the ceremonies and actions of men ; and the priests, who alone are considered as able to perform this miraculous sacrifice, are exalted above their fellow-mortals.

* The consecration of the host, or, as it is called, the sacrifice of the mass, is considered as a daily oblation, or offering up the body of our blessed Lord ; with this view, the people are called to look at the wafer by these words, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." We are also told that "this sacrifice of the mass is the same in substance with that which Christ suffered for us upon the cross, because both the victim offered, and the priest, or principal offerer, are the same Jesus Christ. The difference is only in the manner of the offering ; because upon the cross our Saviour offered himself in such a manner as really to shed his blood ; whereas now he does not really shed his blood, nor die any more ; and therefore this is called an *unbloody sacrifice*, and that of the cross a *bloody sacrifice*." See "The Garden of the Soul," also, other modern Romish books of devotion.

CHAPTER XIII.

Many Persons burned.—The Congregation in London.—Pope Paul excites a War between France and Spain.—A.D. 1557–58.



The manner in which Cicely Ormes and other females were burned in the reign of Queen Mary. (See p. 256.)

THE proceedings of Queen Mary had now brought much misery and trouble upon the land, and the Romanists had recourse to measures very similar to those adopted by the heathen under similar circumstances. Cardinal Pole directed that public processions and supplications should be made three times every week in cathedrals, and at least once each week in the large towns. Strype gives a particular account of one which was made on the 8th of June, 1557, at White-hall.

A hundred young oak-trees were set up in the court, forming a way for the procession; green boughs were also fixed against the wall, resembling, as the narrator observes, "the groves where ancient idolatry was committed;" and at each corner of the court was an altar, hung with cloth of gold. The procession came forth from the chapel, and moved forward as usual, singing and chanting the litanies to the saints, and bearing the "broaden God," or consecrated wafer, in his

splendid shrine. A hundred torches blazed around the host, which was carried under the queen's most splendid canopy. After singing and censuring at every altar, the procession returned to the chapel, and mass was sung.*

Our attention is next called to the sufferings of JOYCE LEWIS, who was burned at Litchfield in the month of August, 1557. She was the wife of a gentleman of Mancetter, and had been brought up in the vanities and follies of this life, professing the Romish faith, and living, in reality, without God in the world. But she could not find happiness in this course; and the burning of Saunders at Coventry made a deep impression upon her mind. She inquired the cause and particulars of his sufferings; her conscience became troubled, and would no longer permit her to be satisfied with her accustomed pursuits. John Glover, already mentioned, lived near, and was well known as a Gospeller. With him she used to converse respecting the mass and other points which the Romanists set forth as necessary for salvation. By the Divine blessing upon his instructions, she was led deeply to feel the guilt and burden of sin, and to seek for that peace which the world cannot give. Her heart, by degrees, was filled with love towards God, and she desired to serve him according to his Word. Such a change in her usual habits caused her to be noticed, and she was speedily summoned to appear before the Bishop of Litchfield. The officer brought the citation to her husband, who, indignant that his wife should be charged with heresy, listened to the dictates of passion, and, drawing his dagger, compelled the bishop's officer to eat the summons! For this rash act he was cited to appear before the prelate, as well as his wife; his views were soon found to be very different from hers; and, having implored pardon for his rashness, he was dismissed. The wife also was allowed to depart, her husband being bound to bring her again to the bishop in a month's time, or to forfeit a hundred pounds. Glover advised her not to put herself forward rashly, or out of vainglory, and tried to persuade the husband to incur the penalty rather than deliver over his wife to certain death. But he showed whose disciple he was, for he refused to do so,

* The "*Rituale Romanum*" contains the formularies to be used in these processions, which still constitute a prominent part of the Romish services. They are directed to take place on various occasions, particularly in times of trouble and public distress, as well as on festivals, and are, undoubtedly, of heathen origin, for similar ceremonies were practised in honour of idol deities. Blanco White, in his "*Letters from Spain*," gives an account of the processions, which are very frequent in that country. On these occasions much pomp and pageantry is displayed, particularly on the day called Corpus Christi. The service on that festival at Seville is concluded by a dance, performed by a number of lads in the Cathedral, directly before the high altar; on which occasion the dancers are, by a special permission from the pope, allowed to wear their hats within sight of the consecrated host! This privilege is not allowed to any others, excepting the Dukes of Altamira, who, on certain occasions, when the host is elevated, clap on their hats and draw their swords: a significant testimony of their readiness to combat in defence of transubstantiation.

and took his wife to the bishop, declaring that he would not lose or forfeit anything for her sake! She was then committed to a noisome prison. The bishop inquired why she would not come to the mass, and receive their sacraments. She answered, "Because I find not in God's Word these things which ye so strongly urge as most needful for salvation. If they were commanded in the Word of God, I would with all my heart receive, esteem, and believe them." Reader, *mark the reply* of this Romish prelate. "If thou wilt believe no more than is in Scripture, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable case!" This, however it may be concealed, is really the doctrine of Romanism. Mrs. Lewis boldly told him that his words were ungodly and wicked. After her condemnation she continued a whole year in prison, the sheriff then in office refusing to put her to death; for which he was called to account, and even in danger of his life. At length the writ came for her burning. Being informed of this, she said, "When I behold the amiable countenance of Christ my dear Saviour, the grim face of death doth not greatly trouble me."

All night she continued cheerful. God the Holy Spirit had evidently expelled the fear of death from her heart; she spent her time in prayer, reading the Scriptures, and in converse with some friends, who, contrary to the usual custom, were allowed to see her. But as the morning drew near, Satan began to trouble her with his fiery darts, questioning with her how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ had died for her. A friend pointed her to Galatians, ii., 20, "I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." They also told her "that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's Word was a manifest token of his love towards her, especially the Holy Spirit working in her heart that love and desire towards God, to please him, and to be justified through Christ." By these considerations, but especially by the sweet promises of our Lord, she was enabled to quench the fiery darts of the wicked one.

At eight o'clock the sheriff warned her that she had but one hour to live. After that interval he returned, and permitted a friend (probably Bernher) to accompany her to the stake, for which he was afterward severely reprimanded. She was then led forth with a number of armed men, and a great crowd followed. Having been so long shut up in a close and noisome prison, the length of the way and the change of air made her faint. The sheriff humanely allowed some refreshment to be brought. She took the cup, and said, "I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of papistry." Her friends, and most of the females present, pledged her in the

expression of that sentiment, for which many of them were afterward compelled openly to do penance.*

While such dreadful scenes as have been described in this work were exhibited in our land, the inhabitants might well desire "the abolishment of papistry." We cannot wonder that while those lived who, like Joshua of old, and the elders that survived him, had known the wonderful works of God, it was not considered a matter of indifference whether they served the Lord, or the gods which their fathers had served in the days of spiritual darkness.

When the fire was kindled, Mrs. Lewis lifted up her hands towards heaven, but neither struggled nor stirred. She suffered less severely than many of her fellow-martyrs, the under-sheriff, at the request of her friends, having provided materials for a fierce and quick fire—a painful, but, in "the Days of Queen Mary," a real proof of friendship.

On the 20th of August, the sister of Eagles was burned at Rochester, with a man named FRYE; and on the 27th, one BENYON, a weaver, suffered at Bristol.

Many perished in prison about this time, but we must allow them to pass unnoticed in these pages, being assured that there is *one book* in which their names are all faithfully recorded.

On the 17th of September, 1557, RALPH ALLERTON, RICHARD ROTHE, JAMES AUSTROR, and his wife, were burned at Islington.† Fox records many interesting particulars respecting these martyrs. Allerton left an account of his examinations, and several letters written with his own blood. He resided near Colchester, and seeing persons loitering about, or engaged in idle conversation, on Sundays and holydays, he urged them to unite with him in prayer; after which he used to read a chapter from the New Testament. Being warned that this practice was contrary to the laws lately enacted, Allerton discontinued it; but two or three months afterward, the sworn agents or inquirers under the commissioners or inquisitors lately appointed became acquainted with this circumstance; and although, for a time, he was allowed to escape, he was at length apprehended, and sent to Bonner. He was persuaded to recant, but found no peace of mind till he had again bold-

* A priest was stationed to take down the names or description of all persons who spoke to her, or expressed sorrow for her fate. They were speedily summoned by the Romish prelates, but were set at liberty upon expressing regret for what they had done. One female, named Pennifather, wept at the sad scene before her; upon which two priests inquired why she wept for a heretic whose soul was in hell. She replied that she thought the blessed martyr was in a better case than they were; upon which she was committed to prison, and narrowly escaped sharing the fate of her friend.

† Four days afterward, Dr. Pendleton, mentioned p. 77, was buried at St. Stephen's Walbrook, of which parish he was priest. He appears to have died as he lived, a backslider from the truth, and was buried with great honours, and a solemn service, attended by the whole choir of St. Paul's. How great a contrast, in every respect, to the last hours of Allerton and his companions!

ly professed the truth. Upon this, he was once more sent to the bishop.

He found means to convey to his friends the account of his first examination, after he had been again apprehended. It was written with his own blood, and presents a lively delineation of Bonner's manner of proceeding, even in one of his gentlest moods. A few extracts may interest the reader.

Bonner. Ah, sirrah, how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this fashion? I dare say you are accused wrongfully!

Allerton. Yea, my lord, so I am; for if I were guilty of such things as I am accused of, then I would be very sorry.

Bon. By Saint Mary, that is well done. But let me hear, art thou an honest man? for if I can prove no heresy in thee, then shall thine accusers do thee no harm at all.

After a few other questions, Allerton told Bonner that he had dissembled in his former admission, that he "believed all things which the Catholic Church taught," because he made no difference between the true Church and the untrue Church.

Bon. Nay, I pray thee, let me hear more of this, for I fear me thou wilt smell of heresy anon. Which is the true Church, as thou sayest? Dost thou call the heretic's church true church, or the Catholic Church of Christ? In faith, I will know of thee ere I leave thee.

Aller. As concerning the church of heretics, I utterly abhor the same, as detestable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and heresies; and the Catholic Church is it that I only embrace, whose doctrine is sincere, pure, and true.

Bon. By St. Augustine, but that was well said of thee. For, by *** *****! if thou hadst allowed the church of heretics, I would have burned thee for thy labour.

We cannot but remark the ignorance of Bonner in thus framing his question, so that Allerton could safely reply to it with truth; but a priest named Morton said, "My lord, you know not yet what church it is that he calleth catholic; I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough!"

Bon. Think you so? Now, by our blessed Lady, if it be so, he might have deceived me. How say you, sirrah: which is the Catholic Church?

Allerton then plainly declared his belief on this subject, and referred to the prophecies of Daniel, the book of Esdras, and the words of our Lord.

Bon. Now, by the blessed sacrament of the altar, Master Morton, he is the rankest heretic that ever came before me. How say you: did you ever hear the like?

Mor. I thought what he was, my lord, at the first.

Bon. By Allhallows, thou shalt be burned with fire for thy lying, thou — varlet, and —. Dost thou find a prophecy in Daniel of us? Nay, you knave, it is you that he speaketh of, and your false, pretended holiness.

Farther specimens of this method of examination need not be given. Although it cannot be pleasant or profitable to read such expressions, *one* instance appeared necessary, that the reader might have a *full* delineation of this profane Romish prelate!

Bonner then inquired respecting the passage referred to in Esdras; it was 2 Esdras, xvi., 68, &c., which, although not a part of the canonical Scriptures, certainly gives a striking description of persons suffering like Allerton and his brethren.

This examination concluded by Bonner exclaiming, "Have the knave away; let him be carried to *Little Ease*, at London, till I come;" and the martyr was conveyed to that dungeon, so appropriately named, it being a dark hole, wherein the prisoner could not rest in any accustomed posture.

The next day he was again examined. Tye, the priest of Colchester already mentioned, was present, and accused him in bitter terms, saying, "I commanded the constable to apprehend him, and so he did. Nevertheless, after this apprehension, the constable let him go about his business all the next day, so that, without putting in sureties, he let him go into Suffolk and other places; for no goodness, I warrant you, my lord. It were well to teach such officers their duty, how they should not let such rebels go at their own liberty after that they be apprehended and taken; but they should keep them fast in the stocks, until they bring them before a justice."

Allerton replied, "As I said before, so say I now again. Thou art not of the Church of Christ, and that I will prove if I may be suffered. And where you said that you commanded the constable to apprehend me, you did so, indeed, contrary to the laws of this realm, having neither to lay to my charge treason, felony, nor murder. Neither had you precept, process, nor warrant to serve on; and therefore I say, without law was I apprehended. And whereas you seek to trouble the constable, because he kept me not in the stocks three days and three nights, it doth partly show what you are. And my going into Suffolk was not for any evil, but only to buy half a bushel of corn for bread for my poor wife and children, knowing that I had no longer time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would surely have laid something to his charge." Bonner's observation upon this was, "Ah, sirrah (with an oath), thou shalt be burned with fire."

From such particulars as these we learn the real situation of things in "the Days of Queen Mary." We find a constable compelled to take into custody a peaceable and honest neighbour upon the mere order of a priest, without warrant or regular accusation. We also see the brutal conduct of Bonner, the eager bloodthirstiness of his priests, the manner in

which all lawful procedures, and the personal security of Englishmen, were set at naught by the iron rule of popery; and we cannot but observe the simple faith of the martyr, his care of his family, and the confidence which even the instruments employed by their persecutors placed in the word of these "known men."

The full account of these examinations was transmitted by the martyr to his friends. He promised, if possible, to send the remainder, but was unable. But in Bonner's register was recorded a long accusation of his enemy, including several particulars of the most trifling import, and preserving two letters written by him to his friends.

Austoo and his wife were Londoners; they were examined as to their belief respecting the sacrament, and condemned.

Roth expostulated with Bonner for secretly examining him and his fellow-prisoners, saying, "My lord, you bring us to our examinations by night, that the people should not see and behold your doings." He was accused in the same manner as Allerton, and also of being a favourer of heretics, in proof of which the following letter to his friends at Colchester was produced; it was written with his own blood, as he was not allowed the use of pen and ink.

"Oh, dear brethren and sisters, how much have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you faith to overcome these bloodthirsty tyrants thus far; and no doubt He that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end.

"Oh dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory shall you receive with Christ in the kingdom of God! Oh, that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to have gone with you; for I lie in my lord's Little Ease in the day, and in the night I lie in the Coal-house with Ralph Allerton; and we look every day when we shall be condemned; for he (Bonner) said I should be burned within ten days before Easter; but I lie still in the pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me; but we abide the Lord's time, with many bands, in fetters and stocks, by which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and sisters, in this world; but I trust to see you in heaven face to face. Oh, brother Munt, with your wife and my dear sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake, with all the rest of my dear brethren and sisters, known and unknown: Oh, be joyful even unto death. Fear it not, saith Christ; for I have overcome death, saith he. Oh, dear hearts, seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, oh, tarry you the Lord's leisure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you still for the Lord; He is at hand. Yea, the angel of the Lord pitcheth

his tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he sees best. For our lives are in the Lord's hands, and they can do nothing unto us before God suffer them. Therefore, give all thanks to God. You shall be clothed with white garments upon the Mount Zion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Saviour, who will never forsake us. Oh, blessed virgins, ye have played the wise virgins' part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that ye may go in with the Bridegroom, when he cometh into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they shall be shut out, because they made not themselves ready to suffer with Christ, neither go about to take up his cross. How precious shall your death be in the sight of the Lord, for dear is the death of his saints. Oh, fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

"By me, Richard Roth, written with mine own blood."

This letter deserves particular attention, as it was made a subject of accusation against Roth, and it was recorded by Bonner in his proceedings against this martyr. It also proves that the Romish prelate had determined upon the burning of this martyr, and even appointed a time, before he was finally examined and condemned! Compare it with Bonner's letters, written while he was in prison: see p. 18.

MARGARET THURSTON and AGNES BONGEOR were burned at Colchester the same day. The husband of Thurston was also imprisoned for his religion, and died in confinement, like many others; his widow was burned soon afterward. Agnes Bongeor was to have been burned with those who suffered on the 2d of August; but her name being spelt wrong in the writ for their execution, she was then remanded, being much troubled at being thus excluded from the company of those who laid down their lives in their Maker's cause. She had, indeed, "counted the cost," having that morning parted with her infant, whom she had suckled all the time of her imprisonment; but expecting to suffer that day for the testimony of the glorious Gospel of Christ, she resigned her child to the care of a nurse; so that which to a tender parent must be the worst bitterness of death, was already past. But the enemies of the truth did not forget her; on the 17th of September she was sent to the stake, and we may rather be surprised at their scrupulous exactness in this instance, as it is ascertained that in several instances the martyrs were burned even before the writs ordering their execution could have been issued.

On the 20th of September, JOHN CURD, a shoemaker, of Northampton, was burned in the stone pits, near the North Gate of that town.

In the same month, JOHN NOYES suffered at Laxfield, in Suffolk. He had been apprehended by the inquisitors and sent to Norwich, where he was examined and condemned in the customary manner. On the 21st of September he was carried back to Laxfield, and preparations were made for his burning; but the inhabitants were so unwilling to assist in this cruel work, that the executioners for some time sought in vain for a light to kindle the fagots! The fires had purposely been put out. The constables, at last, observed smoke issuing from one chimney, but on going to the house the door was closed, and they were obliged to break it open to get a light!

When Noyes was bound to the stake, he repeated the text, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear Him that can kill both body and soul, and cast into everlasting fire." Turning to the crowd, he said, "Good people, bear witness that I believe to be saved by the merits and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and not by my own deeds." The pile was then kindled, and he exclaimed, "Lord, have mercy upon me! Christ, have mercy upon me! Son of David, have mercy upon me!" A man who stood by, struck with the painful sight, exclaimed, "How the sinews of his arms shrink up!" The sheriff's officer asserted that he had said, "What villain wretches are these!" This the man denied; but he had manifested strong feelings of compassion, for which he was set in the stocks, and publicly whipped on the following Sunday!

CICELY ORMES was the wife of a weaver at Norwich. Being present at the burning of Miller and Cooper, she publicly said "she would pledge them of the same cup that they drank of." Her words were reported to the chancellor of the diocese, who sent for her, and inquired her belief respecting the sacrament. "What is that," said the chancellor, "which the priest holdeth over his head?" She answered, "It is bread;" upon which she was sent to prison. She was afterward told that, if she would promise to attend the mass and "keep her tongue," she should be set at liberty; the chancellor saying that he was willing to show her more favour than he had done to any that were brought before him. But Cicely Ormes had tried this already. Although uninstructed, she was zealous in the cause of the Lord; a twelve-month before she had been carried before the chancellor, but then recanted. Like others already noticed, her conscience accused her, and she prepared a declaration of her faith, but was apprehended before it was sent.

On the 23d of September she was carried to the stake, where other martyrs had suffered. Having prayed, she addressed the people, saying, "I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. This I do not, and will not recant; but I recant utter-

ly, from the bottom of my heart, the doings of the Pope of Rome, and all his popish priests and shavelings.* I utterly refuse, and never will have to do with them again, by God's grace. And, good people, I would you should not think that I expect to be saved because I offer myself here to death for the Lord's cause, but I look to be saved by the death and sufferings of Christ; and this my death is, and shall be a witness of my faith unto you all here present. Good people, those of you who believe as I believe, pray for me." She then kissed the stake, and said, "Welcome the cross of Christ." When the flames were kindled, she added, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour." She folded her hands upon her bosom, and then looking upward, gradually raised them, till the sinews of her arms were burned, and they fell; thus yielding her life unto the Lord as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or felt no pain.

We cannot but remark the decided testimony to the truth, as it is in Jesus, which was borne by several of those whose sufferings have just been mentioned. It appears that the real state of the case was now understood; both the persecutors and martyrs fully admitted that the great difference between them was on the all-important question, "How shall man be just with God?" and the doctrine of transubstantiation was used as a shibboleth to ascertain to which class they belonged.

FOX records the names of A PRIEST, THIRTEEN LAYMEN, and THREE WOMEN, who suffered in the diocese of Chichester about this period; but we do not find any particular accounts respecting them.

THOMAS SPURDANCE was a servant of the queen, and was apprehended by two of his companions. The chancellor of Norwich examined him respecting confession and penance, and soon proceeded to the sacrament of the altar. Being required to state his belief on this subject, he said, "I believe that if I come rightly and worthily, as God hath commanded me, to the supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, believing in Him. But the bread being received is not God, and

* This epithet was frequently applied to Romish priests, in allusion to a part of their heads being shaved. *Picart* thus describes this part of the ceremony of their ordination: "The person to be ordained kneels before the bishop, who cuts off some of his hair from five different places. Formerly, it was usual to cut off all the hair, excepting a small circle. This was first discontinued in France; and the Spanish Council of Toledo condemned as heretics those who had only the hair cut from the crown of their heads! The *shaving* is considered as an emblem that the *shaved* renounces the world and its vanities, and the portion which remains indicates that he is to use the things of this life with sobriety. We are also told that the hair being removed from over the eyes, signifies that the clergy ought to be freed from spiritual blindness; from over the ears, that they should be open to the Word of God; from the back part of the head, that they are not to think of the things they have left behind them; from the top of the head, that they participate in the sovereignty of Christ!"

the bread that is yonder in that pix is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with men's hands, neither will be worshipped with men's hands; and therefore you do very evil to cause the people to kneel down and worship the bread; for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the apostles such a custom." "Then," said the chancellor, "he denieth the presence in the sacrament: he is a very heretic." In a subsequent examination, his judge told him that he could prove the Romish customs to be agreeable to God's law. Spurdance replied, "If you can prove by the Word of God that you should have graven images set in your churches for laymen's books, or that you should worship God by them, or have ceremonies such as you have, prove them, and I will do them." It is hardly necessary to add that he was condemned: he was burned at Bury.

On the 18th of November, JOHN HALLINGDALE, WILLIAM SPARROW, and RICHARD GIBSON were burned in Smithfield. The articles against Hallingdale are in the usual form, except that he is also accused of having had his child christened in English. Sparrow was also especially accused "of having sold heretical, erroneous, and blasphemous ballets."* His defence on this head was, that they contained God's Word. Gibson was a man of respectability, but he had been two years imprisoned for debt, having been surety for a false friend. He was accused, among other things, of having injured the prisoners in the Poultry Compter by his evil example! Bonner sent for him, and required him to answer to nine articles, in the usual form; Gibson did so; but tendered, in like manner, nine articles to Bonner, requiring him to reply to them. Fox has given these at length.

On the 22d of December, JOHN ROUGH and MARGARET MEARINGS were burned in Smithfield. Rough was a native of Scotland; he had been a friar, and afterward chaplain to the Earl of Arran. During King Edward's reign he held a benefice in Yorkshire, but retired to Germany when he saw persecution at hand. Returning to England, he heard of the congregation which still met secretly in London. They chose him to be their minister; which dangerous office he readily undertook, teaching and confirming them in the truths of the Gospel. They dared not assemble together openly; and on the 12th of December they met in Islington, under the semblance of attending a dramatic representation.† A false brother informed against them, and twenty-two were apprehended, several of whom were burned. Rough was accused in the usual manner. During his examination before Bonner,

* Or hymns: the word "Ballet" was then more generally applied than it is now. In the old Bibles, the Song of Songs is translated the Ballet of Ballets; those which Sparrow was accused of selling were probably the Psalms in metre.

† The dramas, or plays, at that period, usually represented scenes or passages from the Scriptures.

he said that he had been twice to Rome, and was convinced that the pope was antichrist; mentioning that he had seen him publicly carried upon men's shoulders, and the sacrament borne before him; while the people paid more respect to him than they did even to the consecrated host, which they counted to be their God.* Bonner rose up, and, like Caiaphas of old, seemed about to rend his garments: "Hast thou," said he, "been at Rome and seen our holy father the pope; and dost thou blaspheme him in this manner?" Then flying upon Rough, he plucked off part of his beard by main force, and immediately condemned him.

Margaret Mearing was a member of this congregation. An interesting circumstance is recorded respecting her. She had introduced strangers into their assemblies, "and was somewhat too busy in her talk." They had often suffered from false brethren; her conduct excited suspicion, and two days previous to their meeting at Islington, Rough excluded her from the congregation. This she took amiss, and in the heat of the moment threatened revenge. But when she heard of their apprehension, her heart softened towards them; and finding that her minister was imprisoned in the Gate-house at Westminster, she put some linen and provisions in a basket, and, by declaring that she was his sister, procured admission to him. She was noticed. On the next Friday, Mearing was at the end of Mark Lane conversing with a friend, when she saw Cluny, a noted officer of Bonner's, going down the street: "Surely he goeth to my house," said she; and returning home, asked whom he wanted. He took her to the bishop, and on the Wednesday following she was burned!

Many of the circumstances related in these later narratives show how strongly the people sympathized with the martyrs of Christ. Numbers attended the painful scene, to encourage their former friends, and also to take a lesson which they might themselves soon be called to practise. Rough had been present at the burning of Allerton and others, in the August preceding; as he returned, he met a person whom he had known in Yorkshire. "Where have you been?" inquired his friend. "I have been," said he, "where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been." "Where!" asked the friend. "Forsooth," said he, "to learn the way;" and told him that he had been at the burning of Austoo and others.

The testimony of one who, like Rough, had seen Romanism under its various forms, and deliberately chose to suffer affliction with the people of God rather than to enjoy worldly advantages, is indeed powerful.

Fox gives some interesting particulars respecting this con-

* The author of "Rome in the Nineteenth Century" describes this procession as it may be witnessed at the present day.

gregation. There were some others in London, but this was the principal. They were, for the most part, wonderfully preserved, notwithstanding the strict inquiries of their persecutors; as Fox observes, such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodness, ever working with his people. He mentions some of their narrow escapes; as at Sir Thomas Carden's house in Blackfriars, and at a house in Aldgate, when spies were set for them; but the congregation were warned of their danger in time to escape. Another time, when they had assembled in a clothworker's loft, in an alley near Cheapside, they were discovered, and information was sent to the sheriffs; but, perceiving their danger, they escaped while John Aveles, a noted informer, stood in Mercer's Chapel, unable to follow them. Sometimes they assembled on board vessels in the river, where they enjoyed several delightful opportunities for prayer and praise, without interruption. Once, when assembled in Pudding Lane, John Aveles entered the house upon his accustomed search after heretics, but departed after asking the master a few questions, without perceiving that they were actually met. Their greatest danger was while assembled at a house in Thames-street: the enemies beset the doors; but a seaman who was among them threw off part of his clothes, and swam to a boat at a short distance; and, getting his companions on board, rowed them over to Southwark, his shoes supplying the place of paddles. One, who was sent among them as a spy, was so impressed with what he heard, that he confessed his errand, and entreated forgiveness!

At their meetings it was usual to collect money for the relief of the prisoners for Christ's sake. Sometimes they gathered eight or ten pounds at a time! Life and property were then too uncertain for the followers of Christ to be anxious to lay up treasure in this world.

Their number varied from forty to two hundred; many were obliged to flee, and others were burned. This congregation had several ministers. The first was Scamier; the next, Thomas Foule; the third was Rough; after him, Bernher; and the last was Bentham, afterward the Protestant Bishop of Litchfield.

Before we proceed with the narrative of the sufferings of the martyrs, we may briefly notice some other events of the year 1557, connected with the re-establishment of Romanism in England. The haughty pontiff Paul IV., although in his eightieth year, took an active part in the political events which at that time agitated Europe, boasting "that all princes were under his feet." He excited war between the emperor and the King of France, having absolved the latter from his solemn oath to be at peace with the former for five

years.* Paul also offered to assist the King of France in an invasion of Naples, then a part of the Spanish dominions. The influence of Philip induced Mary to take a part in this contest, and war was declared between England and France. The pope was much displeased at this instance of disobedience in Queen Mary, whom he called "that blessed queen, his most gracious and loving daughter," and blamed Cardinal Pole in the strongest terms for not having prevented it. He had long been displeased with the cardinal's conduct in not joining actively to burn the Protestants, and for his attempt to reform the lives of the clergy. In his wrath, the pontiff recalled the power granted to Pole to act as his legate, and required him to come to Rome to answer for his conduct in having favoured some heretics; alluding, probably, to the liberation of the twenty-two prisoners from Colchester. The pope also sent for Peyto, a Franciscan friar, made him a cardinal, and appointed him Bishop of Salisbury, and legate in the place of Pole. This man, who, when preaching before Henry VIII. at Greenwich, had railed at that monarch to his face, was selected by the pope as his fittest representative in England! The queen, however, in this instance, evinced a spirit somewhat similar to her father's, and refused to allow Peyto to enter England. Accordingly, the new legate was stopped on his journey. He died in the April following; during the interval Pole had submitted himself to the pope, and removed the imputation of being a favourer of heretics, so that he was again restored to his legatine power.

Among the various persons who actively promoted the restoration of popery in England, Pole was one of the most prominent; he presents an awful instance of the manner in which men often suffer their worldly interests to overcome the dictates of their conscience. He was naturally of a milder disposition than his brethren, and his understanding was evidently more enlightened than theirs, so that he could not but feel considerable repugnance at the butchery of the Protestants; at the court of Rome he was even considered as inclined to "heresy," but the golden bribes of the Church of Rome induced him to forward the objects of that bloody and persecuting Church; and he, directly as well as indirectly, sanctioned the cruel proceedings of this reign.

Burnet gives many extracts from the minutes of the privy council, and says, "It may, perhaps, be thought that I have taken out of it nothing but what related to proceedings against heretics; but that is because there is scarcely anything else

* Burnet relates that the Protestant princes in Germany, in their dealings with princes of the Romish faith, took their words, but never required their oaths; for the latter accounted themselves to be bound by their words, as they were men, and members of society; but their oaths, being acts of religion, they considered that their confessor had power to declare how far they were to keep them, and to absolve them from observing them when they thought proper.

in it. The council knew what the queen's heart was set on, and what would please her most, and so they applied their care and diligence chiefly to that."

The persecution of the Protestants was, in fact, the main object of this unhappy queen. Everything else was comparatively neglected, and to this negligence the loss of Calais was owing, which was recaptured by the French in January, 1558; the particulars of that event may be left to the secular historian. We cannot but remark that, notwithstanding the distressed state of the nation, the pomp and pageantry of Romanism increased; and although measures for the recovery of Calais were planned, the execution of them was deferred till the Protestants should be more completely extirpated!

From the particulars recorded by Strype, we find that scarcely a person of any note was committed to the grave without Romish processions, and expensive and superstitious ceremonies; also, the exhibitions on the festivals of that Church were set forth with much expense and care.

CUTHBERT SYMPSON was the first sufferer in the year 1558. As already mentioned, he was deacon of the congregation, and, like Stephen and his companions of old, he was a man of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom.

As deacon, it was his business to call the congregation together, for which purpose he kept a list of their names;* this he had been desired by Rough, his minister, to lay aside, only two days before their apprehension.

The persecutors were very anxious to obtain an accurate account of the members of the congregation. As Sympson refused to discover the names, he was put upon the rack, and kept there for three hours. On the Sunday following he was again examined, and the lieutenant of the Tower swore that he should tell. They bound his two fore fingers together, and drew a barbed arrow backward and forward between them; they then racked him twice, but he still refused to give the information they required. He relates, "Five weeks after, I was sent unto the high-priest (Bonner), where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hand I received the pope's curse for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ." Bonner bore testimony that he was the most patient sufferer of all that came before him. He also was tortured by being enclosed in Skeffington's gyves, an engine of iron which kept the body in an agonizing posture, and which was too commonly used in those days.

While confined in the bishop's Coal-house, Sympson wrote to his wife the following letter, which is inserted as a testi-

* Rough dreamed that he saw his deacon in the custody of two of the queen's guard, and that he had the list of names with him. Warned by this, he urged Sympson to put aside the list, which he reluctantly did. Two days afterward he was apprehended.

mony of the doctrines held by these martyrs, and of the Christian fortitude with which they endured their trials, well knowing that all things work together for good to those who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity :

"I beseech you with my soul, commit yourself unto the mighty hand of our God, trusting in his mercy, and he will surely help us, as shall be most to his glory, and our everlasting comfort ; being sure of this, that he will suffer nothing to come unto us but that which shall be most profitable for us.

"For it is either a correction for our sins, or a trial of our faith, or to set forth his glory, or for all together, and therefore must needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh unto us by fortune or chance, but by our heavenly Father's providence. Therefore pray unto our heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his grace to consider it. Let us give him most hearty thanks for these his fatherly corrections, for as many as he loveth he correcteth. And I beseech you now, be of good cheer, and count the cross of Christ greater riches than all the vain pleasures of England. I do not doubt (I praise God for it) that you have supped with Christ, at his Maundy. I mean that you have believed in him ; and then you must drink of his cup ; I mean his cross, for that is signified to us by the cup. Take this cup with a good stomach, in the name of God, and then shall you be sure to have the good wine, Christ's blood, to cheer thy thirsty soul. And when you have the wine, you must drink it out of this cup. Learn this when you come to the Lord's Supper. Pray continually ; in all things give thanks.

"In the name of Jesus shall every knee bow !"

This letter presents important instruction for believers in every age. If we look for the joys of salvation, we must not refuse to drink the bitter cup, of which every follower of Christ must taste.

With Sympson were burned HUGH FOX and JOHN DEVENISH, also members of the congregation.

The burnings were now resumed in other parts of the kingdom. On the 9th of April, WILLIAM NICHOL suffered at Haverfordwest, in Wales. He was an honest, simple-hearted, poor man, by some supposed hardly to possess full powers of mind ; but, as Fox well observed, the weaker he was in this respect, the greater the cruelty of his persecutors.

WILLIAM SEAMAN, THOMAS CARMAN, and THOMAS HUDSON were burned at Norwich on the 19th of May. Carman had pledged Crashfield at his burning. Hudson was a glover of Aylesham, and learned to read the Scriptures when thirty years of age. Being sought for by the inquisitors, he absented himself from home for a considerable time. At length

he returned, and was concealed for six months, during the daytime, in a pile of fagots, his wife attending upon him. His chief employment was reading the Scriptures and singing psalms; but, after a time, he grew bolder, and read to all who came to him. He was taken to Berry, the vicar of the town, a commissary or sub-inquisitor.* The usual question was put, "What is the sacrament of the altar?" "It is worm's meat," replied the martyr; "my belief is in Christ crucified."

At their burning, it was evident that these witnesses for the truth could only face the cruel torments which awaited them when supplied with strength from on high. Hudson had been remarked for his cheerful reliance on the Lord both previous to his apprehension and during his imprisonment; but after he was fastened to the stake with his companions, he came from under the chain, to the great surprise and sorrow of many, who concluded that he was going to recant. His stake-fellows exhorted him to be of good cheer, and to trust in the Lord; but, as Fox relates, he felt more in his heart and conscience than they could conceive; for, alas! he was compassed with great dolour and grief of mind, not for his death, but for lack of feeling of his Christ; and therefore, being very full of care, he humbly fell down upon his knees, and prayed earnestly and vehemently to the Lord, who, at the last (according to His mercies), sent him comfort. Then he arose with great joy, as a man changed from death unto life, and said, "Now, I thank God, I am strong, and mind not what man can do unto me." He and his companions suffered with joy and constancy.

Three more were burned at Colchester on the 26th of May: two men, named HARRIS and DAY, with a woman, named GEORGE.

On Mayday, about forty persons were assembled in a private field, near St. John's Wood, behind the town of Islington, having availed themselves of the general custom of "going a Maying," for assembling in a larger number than usual, to read the Word of God, and converse upon the truth it contained. The constable of the place came with some armed men, and bade them surrender; they did so, telling him they were ready to go wherever he chose to take them; and he took the greater part to a magistrate, followed by a crowd, who pressed upon the party so closely, that several were

* This Berry was a vile character, but a most zealous Romanist. On Pentecost, he compelled two hundred of his parishioners to creep to the cross for penance. Twice he struck persons with so much violence, in his anger, as to cause their deaths. He was noted for burning Bibles and good books. The end of this man was suitable to his life. On the Sunday after the decease of Queen Mary, he made a great feast; one of his concubines was present, with whom he spent the afternoon. He then went to church, performed the even-song, and administered baptism. On his return home, he fell down and expired!

separated from their fellows against their inclination; and they would have followed them to prison of their own accord, had not the by-standers bade them "not to tempt God!" Twenty-two were committed to Newgate, two of whom died in prison, thirteen were burned, and seven were allowed to escape with their lives, after suffering various degrees of punishment.

Seven of this party, namely, POND, EASTLAND, SOUTHAM, RICARBY, FLOYD, HOLIDAY, and HOLLAND, were burned in Smithfield on the 14th of June. The accusation against them was in the usual terms, with this addition, "that they had been charitably exhorted to cease from leaving their churches, and going into fields and profane places to read English Psalms, and certain English books."

Roger Holland had been a wild and licentious character; during his apprenticeship, he lost thirty pounds of his master's money at a gaming-table. Upon this he determined to flee the country, but first spoke to a female servant of the family, who had often warned him of the certain ruin which must ensue from his evil courses, and entreated her to tell his mistress what he had done, and of his full determination to pay his master, if it should ever be in his power. The servant had a sum of money of her own, and offered to lend him the amount he had lost, provided he would engage to forsake his evil company and wicked courses, promise to burn his idle and superstitious books, and engage to read the Testament, and attend the sermons of the Reformers. He kept his promise, and became an altered man, to the surprise of all who had formerly known him. His apprenticeship being expired, he went home to his family in Lancashire, and was useful in drawing their attention to the truths of the Gospel. After some time, his father gave him a sum of money to commence business for himself; with this he returned to London, and repaid the amount he had borrowed. Feeling grateful for the kindness received from his fellow-servant, he married her in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. The next year they had a child, and caused Mr. Rose to baptize it. This being known to Bonner, he ordered Holland's property to be seized, and treated his wife with much severity. He with difficulty remained concealed in the city, joining the congregation of the faithful, but at last was taken, as already related. The Romanists laboured earnestly to persuade him to recant; but he steadfastly refused, and bore a noble testimony against the errors of popery, to the following effect, as was related by several respectable relatives who were present, anxiously endeavouring to preserve his life:

"When I was an apprentice, I was of this your blind reli-
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gion, having that liberty from your auricular confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution; he, for money, doing some penance also for me, which, after I had given, I cared no farther what offences I did, no more than he, whether he fasted for me or not; so that lechery, swearing, and all other vices, I counted of no danger, so long as I could have them absolved. So strictly did I observe the rules of your religion, that I would always have ashes upon Ash Wednesday, though I had been ever so wicked at night. Although I could not conscientiously eat meat upon Fridays, yet of swearing, drinking, and gaming all night long, I made no conscience at all. Thus was I brought up, and herein have I continued, till of late, when God hath opened the light of his Word, and called me, by his grace, to repent of my former idolatry and wicked life; for in Lancashire their blindness and licentiousness are more than may be mentioned to chaste ears. Yet my friends, who are not clear from these notable crimes, think the priest, with his mass, can save them. Yea, I know some priests (seeming to be), very devout, yet having six or seven children by four or five different women.

"Master Dr. Chadsey, as to the antiquity, unity, and universality of your Church, which you have urged, I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my reasons with, but I trust I have the truth, which needeth no painted colours to set it forth. The antiquity of *our* Church is not from Pope Nicholas or Pope Joan, but *our Church* is from the beginning; even from the time when God said unto Adam that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head. And also to faithful Noah, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and so to Moses, David, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises were of the Church, though the number was oftentimes but few and small, as in the days of Elias, when he thought there was none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal. But God had reserved seven thousand that had never bowed their knees to idols, as I trust there are seven hundred thousand more than I know of that have not bowed their knees to your idol, the mass, and your god, Mazim. Even as we, by this your cruelty, are forced to pray to God in the fields, that his holy Word may be once again truly preached among us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, of *our Church* have been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and confessors of Christ that have at all times, and in all ages, been persecuted for the testimony of the Word of God. But for the upholding of *your Church* and religion, what antiquity can you show? Yea, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your re-

ligion, is not yet four hundred years old; and some of your masses are still more recent, as that of Thomas à Becket the traitor, wherein you pray that you may be saved by the blood of *that* St. Thomas (see p. 104). And as for your Latin service, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your priests mumble up their service,* although he well understood Latin, would understand but few words thereof, the priests do so champ them and chew them, and post so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor the people what they hear. And, in the mean time, instead of praying with the priest, they are set to their beads to pray our Lady's Psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his dreams, which you defend with fagot and with fire, that he may quench the light of the Word of God, which should be a light to our feet. And again, wherewith shall a young man direct his ways, but by the Word of God? Yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather have five words spoken in the Church with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue (1 Cor., xiv., 19); and yet you will have your Latin service and prayers in a strange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant.

"Besides, the Greek Church, and a good part of Christendom, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their natural language; neither your transubstantiation, your receiving all alone, your purgatory, your images.

"As for the unity which is in your Church, what else is it but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, and wickedness? What unity was there in your Church when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope?"

At this, Bonner interrupted Holland, telling him that he had spoken blasphemy, and that he would not have allowed him to speak thus far, had it not been for his friends. He was then sent back to prison.

Lord Strange, and other friends of Holland, attended at his last examination. Their presence partly restrained Bonner's customary violence and rage, so that he allowed Holland to state his belief concerning the sacrament, which he did in the following words, entreating his friends to repeat his words to his father: "I say and believe, and am therein fully persua-

* This refers to the public services as performed in Romish countries; but it also applies to the daily service, which every priest is required to repeat, and for which no excuse is allowed, the omission being considered a mortal sin. He must repeat the whole service of the day to himself, in an audible voice, a performance which Blanco White declares neither constant practice, nor *the most rapid utterance*, can bring within the compass of less than an hour and a half in the twenty-four. Other writers assure us that the Breviary is often made the companion of the card-table, that the daily drudgery may be accomplished without relinquishing the vain and sinful pleasures of the world.

ded by Scripture, that, in the sacrament of the Supper of our Lord, ministered in the Holy Communion, according to Christ's institution: I, being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily to God's board (the Lord's table), in perfect love and charity, do there receive, by faith, the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ, in his human nature, sits at the right hand of his Father, yet (by faith, I say) His death, His sufferings, His merits, are mine, and by faith I dwell in Him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible blasphemy!"

He was not allowed to proceed; Bonner stopped him, and read the sentence of condemnation. Then Pond and Holland addressed the people, exhorting them to stand firm in the truth; adding, that "God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake!" At the execution of Holland and his companions, on the 27th of June, a proclamation was made that no one should dare to speak to them, or touch them, or receive anything from them, upon pain of imprisonment. This proclamation was read twice, first at Newgate, and afterward at Smithfield. But the minds of the people were now wrought up to such an abhorrence of popery, that the proclamation was disregarded. A great multitude, who still secretly favoured the Gospel, made a general rush towards the prisoners, as soon as they appeared, thrusting away the bill-men and officers, by the mere power of numbers, but without violence. They then embraced the martyrs, and rejoiced with them for the testimony to the truth of Christ's Gospel, which they were called to make. But there was no design to rescue the prisoners, nor would they have consented to be freed; their friends conveyed them in their arms to the place of execution, where they resigned them to the officers.

The proclamation was read once more, but Mr. Bentham, the minister of the congregation (see p. 260), and others, addressed the martyrs and the crowd. When the fire was kindled, Mr. Bentham said aloud, "We know that they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot but wish to them, and say, God strengthen them." He then exclaimed, with a loud voice, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them." The people, with one voice, repeated these words, adding, "Amen, and Amen." The officers stood in amazement, not knowing whom to accuse, or what to do.

Reader, contrast the patient endurance of the martyrs with the cruel rage of their persecutors!

CHAPTER XIV.

Proclamation against Books and Tracts.—The Persecution continued till the Death of the Queen.—A Brief Account of the Preservation of Fox and others.—A.D. 1558.



The last sufferers during the reign of Queen Mary, who were burned at Canterbury only two days before her death! (See p. 280.)

BONNER was so troubled at the conduct of the people when Holland and his companions suffered, that he did not venture to burn the remainder of that party in London. They were accordingly sent to Brentford, and there committed to the flames on the 13th or 14th of July. The examinations of these men, named MILLS, COTTON, DYNES, WIGHT, SLADE, and PIKES, were similar to those already related. They were condemned, and they suffered with constancy. While in prison, Pikes was dangerously ill, but he fervently prayed that he might be raised up and enabled "to glorify God in the fires." Bentham, the minister of the congregation, thus mentions this execution in a letter he wrote a few days afterward: "The Bishop of London, either for fear or craft, carried seven more, or six at the least, forth of his Coal-house to Fulham, the 12th day of this month; and, condemning them there the next day at one in the afternoon, caused them to be carried

to Brentford, where they were burned in post haste the same night. This fact purchaseth him more hatred of the common multitude than any that he hath done."

Bonner exhibited another mode of cruelty with respect to some of their companions. *Thomas Hinshaw*, a young man twenty years old, after a long confinement in Newgate, was carried to Fulham. The first night he was set in the stocks, and allowed only bread and water. In the morning, Bonner sent Harpsfield to examine him, who, after a long talk, became very angry; and upon Hinshaw's saying that "he was sure they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom not from any love to truth," he went to Bonner, and informed him what had passed. "Dost thou answer my archdeacon so?" exclaimed the bishop; "thou naughty boy, I will handle thee well enough." He called for rods, and compelled Hinshaw to kneel down in the orchard; then stripping down his clothes, he flogged this young man with his own hands till he was obliged to leave off from fatigue and want of breath!*

Hinshaw was afterward examined in a more regular manner, and would probably have been sent to the fire, but he fell sick, and was considered not likely to live; upon which, Bonner allowed his master to take him home, and the queen died before he recovered.

John Willis was another of the party apprehended near Islington, and, like Hinshaw, was taken to Fulham by Bonner, and kept in the stocks. It appears that the bloodthirsty persecutor carried the Protestants to his country-house, to amuse himself in his retirement by tormenting them. Willis suffered even more than his companion; he was frequently examined in private, when Bonner used to beat him about the head with a stick. One day Bonner asked when he had "crept to the cross." Willis replied that he had not done so since he came to years of discretion, nor would he do so now. Bonner then ordered him to make a cross upon his forehead; this he refused to do, upon which the persecutor had him taken to the orchard, and there flogged him in the same manner as Hinshaw, but more severely. While he lay in prison suffering from the effects of this beating, an aged priest lately arrived from Rome visited him, and began to use his accustomed form of exorcism to drive out, as he said, the evil spirit which possessed him. Among other arguments to persuade these men to turn to Romanism, Bonner

* The early editions of Fox's Acts and Monuments contain a wood engraving representing this scene. The figure of Bonner is a correct representation of the bloodthirsty prelate. When the book was first published, some person showed him his own picture. Bonner laughed, and said, with an imprecation, "How could he get my picture drawn so right?" He was asked if he were not ashamed to whip a man. "If thou hadst been in his case," said he, "thou wouldest have thought it a good change to be thus beaten to be saved from burning!"

told them that, if they should err, they would be in no danger, as their blood would be required at the hands of the priesthood! adding, "As truly as thou seest the bodies of those in Smithfield were burned, so truly their souls do burn in hell, because they err from the true Church." He said to Willis, "They call me bloody Bonner; I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. If I might have my will, I would sew up your mouths, put you in sacks, and drown you."^{*}

Notwithstanding the many proofs that it was not in the power of man to destroy the work of God, this unhappy queen and her bigoted counsellors raged still more violently against the followers of Christ. On the 6th of June, a proclamation was issued against the books "full of heresy, sedition, and treason,"[†] which were imported, or printed secretly, and cast abroad. It was declared that any person who kept such works in his possession, or who had found such publications, and did not burn them, without showing them, or reading their contents to any one, *should be considered as a rebel, and executed without delay by martial law!*[‡] Thus sub-

^{*} Fox also records particulars respecting the scourging of several others, as *Green, Cottin, Harris, and Williams*, some of whom were beaten by Bonner's officers, but most frequently by himself! A man named Fetty, being accused by his own wife, was imprisoned in Lollards' Tower, and set in the stocks. His son, a boy about eight years old, came to the prison wishing to see his father, but, having made a sharp reply to a priest, he was taken into Bonner's house, and whipped so severely that he died in a fortnight. The writer of a letter to Bonner, which is preserved by Strype, tells him, "Every child that can speak says, 'Bloody Bonner is Bishop of London.'"

[†] *John Cornet*, a minstrel's apprentice (or singing-boy), having been sent for to amuse the company at a wedding, sung a song called "News from London," which was against the popish proceedings. For this he was taken up, and manacled so as to force the blood from his fingers' ends; he was also whipped severely, to make him accuse some of the Gospellers.

A poor beggar was whipped at Salisbury, because he refused to receive the Romish sacrament at Easter!

[‡] Although the proclamation mentions sedition and treason, and one or two books, printed abroad, did encourage resistance to the queen's measures in a different spirit from that invariably manifested by the martyrs, it is evident that books against popery were principally meant.

The determined opposition of the Church of Rome, ever since the invention of printing, and even before that time, to the circulation of all books in which the truth is set forth, as well as to those in which the errors of Romanism are discussed, is notorious, and should be marked by every Protestant as a principal feature of that intolerant church. It is true that in these kingdoms no punishments such as were inflicted in Queen Mary's reign are to be apprehended at the present day, but we find the Romish prelates adopting the strongest measures in their power against tracts, or other works treating of religion (including Bibles and Testaments), which are not sanctioned by them, or by any competent authority of their church; "the use, the perusal, the reading, or retaining of them, is entirely, and without any exception, prohibited." "They are carefully to be avoided, and to be restored to the persons who may have bestowed them, or otherwise to be destroyed." It is declared that "such books have been, and ever will be, execrated by the (Roman) Catholic Church; and that salutary laws and ordinances have been made, whereby she has, at all times, prohibited her children to read or retain them; nay, she has frequently ordered them to be committed to the flames." From hence it appears, that although no direct punishment is denounced against such Romanists as transgress by accepting a Protestant tract or book, or by retaining it when found, yet the doing so is contrary to the "laws and ordinances" of their church; consequently, disobedience thereto, even now, exposes a Romanist to excommunication, with all its attendant evils in this life; and if he dies unreconciled to that church, according to the doc-

jecting any one, in whose possession a book or tract against popery should be found, "to a death," as Dean Nowell observed, "more hasty and cruel than is used for rebels, traitors, or murderers!" and that merely for having kept or shown to a friend a printed paper, which might have been picked up in the road. In this proclamation no books were specified by name, as was usually done: so that a person might incur all the penalties without being in the least aware of his guilt.

Elizabeth Young circulated many publications against Romanism, which she brought over from the Continent, where they had been printed expressly for circulation in England, under the direction of some of the exiles. She was repeatedly examined before the bishop's officers, who were anxious to ascertain the authors, printers, and importers of these works. At the close of her second examination, Dr. Martin ordered that she should be closely imprisoned, and allowed only bread and water; one day bread, the next water, and so on alternately. On a subsequent day, being required to declare her belief, she did so as follows:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. I believe all the articles of my creed. I believe all things written in the Holy Scriptures, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the Church of Christ, and set forth and taught by the Church of Christ. I believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to save sinners; and that in him, by him, and through him, I am made clean from my sins; and without him I could not. I believe that in the Holy Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and ordain, and left among his disciples that night before he was betrayed, when I do receive this sacrament in faith and spirit, I do receive Christ."

The Romanists abused her in the coarsest terms; and Sir Roger Cholmley stated his belief as follows:

"Hark, thou ***, how I do believe. When the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, I do believe that there remaineth *the very body* that was born of the Virgin Mary, was hanged on the cross, was dead and buried, and descended into hell, and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. *The same body*, when the priest hath spoken the words, *cometh down*, and

trine of Romanism, he incurs eternal condemnation. Surely these motives are not likely to be without effect, to induce submission to their mandates. See the Pastoral Instructions of the Romish Prelates in Ireland, 1824; also the Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XII., 1824.

when the priest lifteth up the body on this wise (*raising his hand like a priest at mass*), there it is."

Reader, compare these declarations of faith!

On another occasion, she was examined respecting purgatory, and was asked if it were not right to pray for the souls therein. "Sir," said she, "I never heard in the Scriptures of purgatory; but in the Scriptures I have heard of heaven and hell." The chancellor replied, "Ye have nothing but the skimming of the Scriptures; our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there was a purgatory. Yea, they could find in the New Testament that a priest should take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and offer it up every day." It is unnecessary to follow this Romish priest through his coarse railings, which he concluded by applying the lamentation of our Lord over Jerusalem (Luke, xiii., 34, 35) to Protestants, adding, "And so would we gather you together in one faith, but ye will not, and therefore your own blood be upon your own heads. Thou art one of the rankest heretics that ever I heard, for thou believest nothing but what is in Scripture, and *therefore thou art damned!*" She replied, "I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost to the Church of Christ, set forth and taught by the Church of Christ; and shall I be damned because I believe the truth, and will not believe an untruth?" She was carried back to Lollards' Tower, her feet placed in the stocks, her hands manacled with irons, and was so left to prepare for her next examination.

They afterward spoke of the pope. "Dost thou not believe," demanded the chancellor, "that the Bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins, heretical, detestable, and *damnable*, that thou hast done, from thine infancy to this day?" "Sir," said she, "the Bishop of Rome is a sinner, as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins but He only that is without sin, and that is Jesus Christ, who died for my sins." "Dost thou not know," said he, "that the pope sent over his jubilees, that all who would fast and pray, and go to church, should have their sins forgiven them?" After thirteen examinations, the Romanists let her go; their desire evidently was to discover the principal persons who engaged in the circulation of these books, which they were more likely to ascertain if she were at liberty, and watched, than if sent to the stake as many had been, who spoke less decidedly against the Romish errors and superstitions.

Several persons who had purchased the books brought over by Young were also apprehended. One of them, an apprentice, named *Thomas Green*, was taken before Dr. Story by his master for having purchased some of the book entitled *Anti-*

christ. He was kept prisoner a long time in fetters and the stocks, being treated with much severity, to make him give up the names of those from whom he had the books. As usual, he was asked "if there were not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it." He says, "I made answer, As for the mass, I cannot understand it; but in the New Testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, 'Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again.' And I told them another sentence where Christ saith, 'The poor you have always with you, but me shall you not have always.' Then the chaplain put to me many questions more, to which I could make no answer. Among others, he brought forward Chrysostom and Jerome for his purpose. I answered 'that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew whether they quoted them right or not, but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer.' It is pleasing to see how the simple and unlearned followers of the truth kept close to this plan of only quoting Scripture to their inquisitors, and thus baffled their Romish sophistries. After being imprisoned for some time, the circulators of the books were discovered; and, at the intercession of his friends, Green was released, but not till he had been severely whipped.

It is desirable, in this place, briefly to refer to the "Index Expurgatorius," or list of books which Romanists are forbidden to read. These lists, published in the present times, contain not only the works of Protestants on science as well as religion, but also many of those of the more enlightened members of the Church of Rome, such as Fenelon, Pascal, Dupin, Fleury, and others; in fact, *the very works* which are often quoted by the advocates of Romanism as evidences that their system is changed for the better, *are prohibited and anathematized* by the supreme and infallible head of the Church!! Even editions of the Scriptures, printed in Italy, from their own versions, *but without note or comment*, are prohibited under the strongest penalties!* Many recent communications from countries under the yoke of Romanism show that to have any book so forbidden is attended with the utmost danger. The timid are deterred from touching a prohibited book by the awful declaration that, by so doing (*ipse facto*), they incur the penalties of excommunication.†

* Sir R. H. Inglis, in the House of Commons, May, 1835, referred to the Index Expurgatorius as a proof "that the Church of Rome is not only unchanged, but unchangeable."

† Blanco White relates that his confessor, finding he knew of a prohibited book being in the possession of a fellow-student, commanded him to accuse *his friend* to the Inquisition! He strongly describes his feelings when doubts as to the truth of Romish doctrines began to assail him, knowing that, if he deliberately indulged a mere

RICHARD YEOMAN was curate to Dr. Taylor at Hadleigh, and, of course, dismissed by the Romish successor of that martyr. For some time afterward he travelled from place to place, confirming the followers of the truth in their faith. As the persecution became more severe, he assumed the disguise of a pedler, and went about selling small wares; thus concealing himself from his enemies, strengthening the believers in Christ, and assisting to maintain his wife and family. At length, finding himself an object of suspicion, and having been actually set in the stocks, he returned to his wife and family at Hadleigh. He was concealed in a chamber over the Guildhall in that town for above a year, where he employed himself in prayer and reading the Scriptures. He also carded wool, which his wife and children spun; but they could not earn sufficient for their maintenance, and were forced to beg for bread.

At length, the Romish priest of Hadleigh, being informed of Yeoman's concealment, went with a number of officers, dragged him from his bed in the night, and, after several days' confinement in the stocks in the cage, brought him before

doubt for a moment, he thereby incurred the heaviest penalties of his church.—(See *Doblando's Letters*.) But let us for a moment refer to some works not long since published, and approved by leading characters in the Church of Rome. We may just notice that modern specimen of Romish literature, *The Life and Revelations of Sister Nativité*, Paris, 1817, which was set forth with the approbation of many Romish clergy of the highest rank in our country, but which for blasphemy and imposture may well vie with the Conformities of St. Francis. To give a full view of the horrid contents of this work is impossible; a specimen or two of the less flagrant passages only can be transcribed here. One day, a picture of St. Francis in the Convent Church spoke to sister Nativité, complaining bitterly of the relaxation of discipline among the religious of his order. In another place, she declares that the Saviour made her experience an agony like his own, and required her to fasten herself mystically (or in *idea*) with three nails to his cross; adding, "It is my will that you should be crucified with me, to honour my sufferings and my cross." The old story, so often told in confirmation of the corporeal presence or change of the wafer, is brought forward: she says that she saw the wafer in the hands of the priest become a living infant, eager for the moment when he is to be received or eaten! Her account of the day of judgment, and the incarnation, her conversations with our blessed Lord, and many other circumstances, must be passed over. One other revelation will suffice: During a solemn church service, she says that she saw the Holy Trinity, and the Virgin, and the apostles all present at the service, and heard a voice from the Supreme Being exclaim, "Wo! wo! to whosoever shall attempt to usurp, oppress, suppress, or contradict the power of the sovereign pontiff; these immutable and infallible truths!" Yet of this work, a prelate, the most renowned modern champion of Romanism in our land, declared he had no doubt of its producing great spiritual comfort to many souls, and that no one can have a greater veneration for the revelations than himself! An English Jesuit also declared, "Were Scripture no more, and all the most valuable treatises of instructive, moral, doctrinal, and theological science, no more to be met with in other books, they might all be recovered in this one, and with interest beyond." The reader may find farther particulars respecting this extraordinary work in the Quarterly Review, No. 66, to which he can easily refer.

The history of the "Miraculous Hosts preserved at Brussels," printed in that city, 1770, in an expensive form, with special licenses from royal and ecclesiastical authority, after relating how these miraculous hosts or wafers had been stolen by the Jews, and how blood issued from them when stabbed and cut with their knives; and detailing the miracles they performed, and the wonderful manner in which they were preserved from the heretics during the Reformation, concludes by stating that "the faithful people still have the consolation to adore them (the wafers!), and may obtain, by a living faith, and a solid and sincere devotion to the sacrament of the altar, all the spiritual and temporal benefits which we have to ask of God!"

Sir Henry Doyle, with an old man, named Dale, who had spoken against the Romish priesthood.

The justice told the priest that the accused were old and infirm men, and he had better let them go; but he refused, and charged the justice at his peril to do his duty, "by defending Holy Church, and suppressing the sects of heretics." To refuse obeying the mandate of a Romish priest was dangerous, and the prisoners were sent to Bury; the justices were, in fact, become the tools of the popish clergy. The prisoners were put in irons, and confined in the lowest dungeon; Dale died there, but Yeoman was removed to Norwich, condemned, and burned on the 10th of July. Some good seed had been sown at Hadleigh by Dr. Taylor, and the crop gave much trouble to his popish successor, who vainly endeavoured to root it out.

THOMAS BAINBRIDGE was a gentleman of Hampshire, and not only possessed this world's goods, but was also rich in faith. He was examined before the Bishop of Winchester, and required to answer ten articles concerning the principal doctrines of Romanism. His answers showed his faith; he was condemned and brought to the stake, where he gave away his rich apparel to the sheriff and by-standers, and prepared to suffer. Dr. Seaton urged him to recant, and said he should be pardoned; Bainbridge refused; upon which the Romish doctor cautioned the people "not to pray for him any more than they would pray for a dog!"

A few fagots only were piled around him; the fire was kindled, and the flame being confined to his legs, caused him much pain, particularly from the shrinking of his leathern hose. The torture overcame his resolution; he cried out "I recant," and thrust away the fire. His friends, anxious to save him, stepped forward and pulled aside the fagots. Seaton then wrote a form of submission to the pope's authority, the Romish doctrine of the sacrament, &c., which Bainbridge was required to sign. He hesitated to do this; upon which, Seaton said the fire must again be kindled; Bainbridge then unwillingly submitted, and signed the paper upon a man's back. The sheriff then ordered him to be loosed from the stake, and taken back to prison. But his conscience would not allow him fully to make shipwreck of his faith, and he wrote to Dr. Seaton, recalling the paper he had signed. Upon this he was carried again to the stake on that day week and burned, or rather *broiled*, his execution being so conducted as to cause him protracted sufferings; but he endured all with constancy.

This was the only instance during Queen Mary's reign in which any professor of the faith shrunk from the fire when actually brought to the stake. The result showed the cruelty of the persecutors, and that they did not so much desire

to *turn* these men as to *burn* them ; for on the particulars being known at court, the council ordered a letter to be written to Sir Richard Pecksal, the sheriff, stating that " the queen thought it very strange that he had delayed the execution of the sentence against Bainbridge *because* he had recanted." He was ordered to come to London, and answer for what he had done ; on his arrival he was committed to the Fleet prison and fined ! The friends of Bainbridge who assisted in putting out the fire were also imprisoned.

EDWARD HORN, of Newent, in Gloucestershire, suffered about this period ; his wife was accused with him, but recanted before she was finally condemned. At his burning he sang the 146th Psalm until his lips were burned away, but his tongue continued to move until he fell down into the fire. Fox does not mention this martyr ; but the circumstance is recorded by Strype, whose informant had the particulars from two men who made the fire to burn him.

We now approach towards the end of these painful details. The queen had for some time visibly declined in health. Her gloomy, bigoted temper preyed upon her mind ; this disposition was increased by the neglect of King Philip and the national misfortunes, especially the loss of Calais. It was evident that her end drew near ; but, instead of pausing in their bloody proceedings, the Romanists continued to persecute with unabated rigour.

In the beginning of August, four men, named COOK, MILES, LANE, and ASHBY, were burned at Bury. Three others, PHILIP HUMPHY, JOHN DAVID, and HENRY DAVID, were also burned there in the month of November, only a fortnight before the decease of the queen, and when it was well known that her death was hourly expected !

On the 4th of November, ALEXANDER GOOCH and ALICE DRIVER were burned at Ipswich. A persecuting justice, one of the sub-inquisitors, searched for them. They took refuge in a large quantity of hay ; but the justice causing pitchforks to be thrust into it, they were discovered. At their examination they conducted themselves with much boldness. When required to answer respecting the sacrament of the altar, Alice Driver asked what a sacrament was. The Romanists told her it was a sign. " How, then," she demanded, " can it be the thing signified ?" On this, as on other occasions, the Romanists asserted that the substance eaten by the disciples at the Last Supper was Christ's own body ; actually the same body that was crucified the next day ! We cannot but admire the readiness with which the poor woman met the specious sophistries of the Romish clergy. There was, of course, some rudeness in her replies, though not more than might be expected from one who, as she said, " was an honest man's daughter, never brought up in the university, as

you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time; yet in the cause of my Master Christ, by his grace, I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all in the maintenance and defence of his cause; and if I had a thousand lives, they should go in payment thereof." She was then condemned.

They were led to the stake by seven o'clock in the morning, having already been brought six miles, from Melton jail. They engaged in prayer and singing psalms; but Sir Henry Dowell, the sheriff, compelled them to leave off, and they were fastened to the stake. The general expression of popular feeling in behalf of the sufferers was again manifested. All persons were forbidden from showing sympathy or sorrow on these occasions, but several came and shook hands with these martyrs when bound to the stake. The sheriff, in a rage, ordered them to be taken up; upon which so many more ran forward to the pile, that the sheriff was unable to execute his design.

The persecution now extended into parts where, previously, it was almost unknown. About this time, a Cornish woman, named **FREEST**, was burned at Exeter. Her husband and children were much addicted to popery, so that she was obliged to leave them, and get her living by spinning and other labour, as well as she could. After a while, she was brought home to her husband; and as she could not be silent respecting the truths of the Gospel, she was accused by the neighbours, and sent from Cornwall to Exeter. The bishop inquired whether she was married. She replied that she had a husband and children, and had them not; and said that, so long as she was at liberty, she refused neither husband nor children; but now, added she, "Standing here as I do, in the cause of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ or my husband, I am contented to cleave only to Christ, my heavenly spouse, and renounce the other." She then quoted the words of our Lord, that those who were not willing to forsake their nearest relatives, and even to lay down their lives, if need be, for his sake, could not be his disciples. The bishop told her that Christ spoke these words in reference to the holy martyrs, who died rather than offer sacrifice to false gods. "Surely, sir," she exclaimed; "and I will rather die than do any worship to that idol which, with your mass, you make a god." "What," said the bishop, "will you say that the sacrament of the altar is an idol?" "Yea, truly," she replied, "there never was such an idol as your sacrament is, made by your priests, and commanded to be worshipped by all men; whereas Christ did command it to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of his most blessed sufferings for our redemption." He told her she wished to be a martyr. She answered, "Indeed, if denying to worship

that *bready god* be my martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart." In the course of this examination, she said, "If Christ is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, why do you worship a piece of bread?" Being blamed for leaving her husband, she said that she fled not for theft or evil life, but because she would not worship the mass. Her faithful testimony to the truth was so new in those parts, that the clergy were disposed to think her insane, and treat her as such, rather than as a heretic. She was employed in the prison rather as a servant than an offender, and even allowed at times to go abroad. One day she entered St. Peter's Church, and found a Dutchman at work, making new noses to some images of saints, which had been disfigured in King Edward's time. "What a madman art thou," said she, "to make them new noses, when shortly they shall lose their heads." An altercation ensued, which, being reported to the bishop, she was imprisoned more closely.

While in confinement she was visited by many persons, and took every opportunity of declaring the truth; of which she was very capable, being so well versed in Scripture, that, if any passage were mentioned, she could tell the chapter in which it was to be found. The clergy used to dispute frequently with her, and made sport of the earnest, energetic manner in which she was enabled to set forth the doctrines of the truth, and expose the errors of the Church of Rome. One of the principal among them, named Blackstone, used to send for her as a subject of ridicule, for the amusement of his guests, while a favourite female and others feasted with him!

On one occasion, when some priests examined her respecting the sacrament of the altar, she said, "They ought to be ashamed to assert that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the body of Christ, which bread doth vinow (decay), and mice oftentimes do eat it; and it doth mould; and is burned. God's own body will not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes, or aumbries (cupboards). Let it be your god; it shall not be mine; for *my Saviour* sitteth at the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to call the sacramental bread, instituted for a remembrance, the very body of Christ, and to worship it, is mere foolishness and devilish deceit." At another time, she energetically summed up the doctrines of Rome in the following terms: "Do you not damn souls when you teach people to worship idols, stocks, and stones, the work of men's hands, and to worship a false god of your own making, of a piece of bread? When you teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive sins? When you teach that there is a purgatory, when the Son of God hath, by his passion (sufferings), purged all? And say you make God and sacrifice him, when Christ's

body was sacrificed once for all! Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say they be damned if they confess not all, when God's word saith, 'Who can number his sins?' Do you not promise trentals, and dirges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to foolish inventions of your own? Do you not teach us to pray upon beads, and pray unto saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy bread, and holy water to scare devils? Do you not a thousand more abominations? And yet you say you come for my profit, and to save my soul. Farewell you, with *your* salvation."

At length she was condemned. After the sentence had been read, the clergy offered that her life should be spared if she would recant. "Nay, that will I not," said she; "God forbid that I should lose the life eternal for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband to my earthly husband, from the fellowship of angels to mortal children. If my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs; God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman; God is my friend, most faithful!"

She was led to the place appointed for her burning, on the Southernhay, just without the walls of Exeter. The Romish priests again beset her; she would not reply to them, but continued to repeat, "God be merciful to me, a *sinner*," and suffered with much patience.*

Our painful task is now nearly concluded, for we are to notice the last sufferers in the days of Queen Mary, JOHN CORNEFORD, CHRISTOPHER BROWN, JOHN HIRST, KATHERINE KNIGHT, and a young woman named ALICE SNOTH. They were condemned at Canterbury some time before, as appears from a document especially directed against them by Cardinal Pole; but orders were not yet issued for their burning, when Harpsfield, the archdeacon of Canterbury, being in London, found that the queen was not expected to live many days; upon which he sent down the writ for their execution, and they were committed to the flames on the 15th of November. This cruelty was the more apparent, as Bonner had paused in his career, and several martyrs condemned to the stake were allowed to live. The last sufferers in the days of Queen Mary were condemned for the same reasons as those who preceded them. They were sentenced to this cruel death

* The reader will be interested with the particular description given of her. "She was as simple a woman to see to as a man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about fifty-four years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for the day of her marriage, to meet the Lamb. Most patient in her words and answers, sober in her apparel, meat, and drink, and *would never be idle*; a great comfort to those who talked with her; good to the poor; she would take no money when in her troubles; 'For,' said she, 'I am going to a city where money beareth no mastery (*vaies*), and while I am here, God hath promised to feed me.'"

because they denied the Romish doctrine of the sacrament; for saying that a wicked man was not partaker of Christ's body; for saying that it was idolatry to creep to the cross; and that we should not pray to "Our Lady" and the saints, because they were not omnipotent.

It is related that, when Alice Snotth was at the stake, she requested that her godfather and godmothers might be sent for. They dared not to come forward till the justices assured them they should not be hurt. When they came, she repeated the belief and the commandments, and required them to say whether they had promised in her behalf anything else. They stated this was all. "Then," said she, "bear witness that I die a Christian woman." Her design appears to have been to refute the slanders of the Romanists, who generally accused the martyrs of having left the Church of Christ. Before they suffered, these martyrs prayed that their blood might be the last that should be shed. Their prayers were answered.

At that time the wrath of God appeared to be poured out upon our unhappy country. Drought and tempests in the preceding years had produced scarcity. Famine and divers unusual diseases now depopulated the land. The historians tell us that so many husbandmen and labourers had died, or were sick, that in many places, when the season of harvest arrived, men would have given the produce of one acre of corn to those who would reap and carry another; and in some instances, the corn stood and shed upon the ground for want of hands. About August, 1558, the fevers then prevalent raged to such a degree, that an author who lived in those times states his belief that three out of four of the inhabitants of England were suffering from disease. In many districts the justices were all dead; and a great number of the churches were closed for want of curates to officiate. In many large families, in which there were twenty or thirty servants, not more than three or four were able to wait upon the sick; while in poorer families, masters, children, and servants, "were all sick, in such sort, that one could not help another."

In the midst of these calamities, Queen Mary expired. On the 17th of November, this wretched woman was called to render an account of those whom she had slain for the Word of God, and the testimony which they held; and in a few hours afterward, Cardinal Pole, her minister and chief assistant, was also called to stand before Him who has declared that "the blood of his saints is precious in his sight." At that tribunal all must appear. Reader, with whom do you desire to be found? with that cruel queen and her persecuting prelates, or with the despised and rejected of men, the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind, who were the victims of Romish tyranny and antichristian rage?

Burnet thus sums up his account of the unhappy queen : " God shortened the time of her reign for his elect's sake ; and he seemed to have suffered popery to show itself in its true and natural colours, all over both false and bloody, even in a female reign, from whence all mildness and gentleness might have been expected ; to give this nation such an evident and demonstrative proof of the barbarous cruelty of that religion, as might raise a lasting abhorrence and detestation of it."

Of the feelings which then prevailed, except among the bigoted Romanists, the reader may judge from facts recorded by contemporary writers, relative to the joy universally manifested as soon as it was ascertained that this persecuting queen was no more. She died in the morning. In the afternoon, the bells of all the parishes in London were rung ; at night, bonfires were lighted, tables were set out in the streets, " and the people did eat, and drink, and make merry."

Fox has recorded particulars respecting the awful deaths of many who were actively concerned in these persecutions. Our limits do not allow any notice to be taken of them ; but we may mention the end of Bonner, who was spared to go down to his grave in the usual course of nature ; as if it were to mark the wide difference between the conduct of the Romanists and the Protestants, when possessed of authority.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, who was known to be attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, Bonner had the effrontery to join the nobles, who went to greet her entrance into the metropolis. The queen turned from him with disgust.

Upon refusing to take the oaths to Queen Elizabeth, he was deprived of his see, and was afterward imprisoned in the King's Bench and Marshalsea, where he indulged in many excesses, and used impious expressions ; showing that he was one who lived under the dominion of the god of this world. In that awful state he died, in August, 1562. He had for some time been under sentence of excommunication ; and, according to the usual custom, his corpse would have been cast out and denied Christian burial. Bishop Grindal, however, acted a different part, and suffered the remains of Bonner to be interred in a corner of St. George's churchyard, Southwark ; but ordered that he should be buried in the night, having understood that the papists in London meant to attend. Bishop Grindal wisely judged that the Protestants of London would not patiently see honours offered to the remains of one by whom so many of their friends and relations had been burned, or tortured to death ; and, by adopting the course just mentioned, he prevented the evil consequences which might have otherwise ensued. Some expressions of popular feeling, however, were manifested ; and, as was observed at the time, Bonner was buried among thieves and

murderers, carried to the grave with the scorn of the beholders, and his grave was stamped and trampled upon after he was laid therein. But *this was all the persecution suffered* by one who was accustomed to say, "Let me once lay hold of these heretics, and if they escape me, God do so and more to Bonner!" Surely this simple fact shows, in the strongest manner, the difference between popery and Protestantism.* Similar lenity was shown to all Romanists, and not one suffered in Elizabeth's reign, excepting those who, by treasonable practices, rendered themselves offenders against the state, and were tried as such. This important truth is studiously concealed by the Romanists of the present day, who bring forward as their *martyrs* men who will ever be chronicled, by impartial historians, and from their own mouths, as *traitors* and convicted *felons*.

Archbishop Bramhall has ably repelled the false charges of the Romanists on this head. Contrasting the *Marian* or *Protestant martyrs* with those whom the Church of Rome calls the *Elizabethan* or *Romish martyrs*, he says, "The former suffered merely and immediately for religion, because they would not be Roman Catholics, without any the least pretext of the violation of any political law; the latter not merely and immediately for religion, because they were Roman Catholics; for many known Roman Catholics in England have lived and died in greater plenty, and power, and reputation, in every prince's reign since the Reformation, than an English Protestant could live among the Irish Roman Catholics since their insurrection. If a subject was taken at mass in England, which was very rare, it was but a pecuniary mulct. No stranger was ever questioned about his religion."

Many followers of the truth were in prison when the queen died: some of them condemned and ready for the stake; others under course of examination, so as fully to prove that there was no design to abate the fury of persecution, but the reverse. The preservation of *Richard White* and *John Hunt* is among the most remarkable. The chancellor of the diocese of Salisbury had condemned and delivered them over to the sheriff for execution, trusting that he would immediately send them to the flames; but the sheriff, being warned by his friends, would not do so till he received in regular course the writ directing that they should be burned; although, in many instances, this requisite form of law had been neglected. The chancellor, finding the execution delayed, and that

* Fox thus addresses those persecutors who were alive when his work was published: "I wish all such whom God's lenity suffereth yet to live, wisely to ponder with themselves, that, as their cruel persecution hurteth not the saints of God whom they have put to death, so the patience of Christ's Church suffering them to live, heapeth the greater judgment of God upon them in the day of wrath, unless they repent in time, which I pray God they may."

the sheriff would not be made a mere tool for executing the cruel desires of the Romish clergy, took measures for expediting the business; the writ was sent down and delivered to Mitchel, the under-sheriff. "I will not be guilty of these men's blood," said he, and cast the writ into the fire; for this he would have been punished severely, but the chancellor was then dangerously ill, and died four days afterward.* The bishop of the diocese had also died a short time previous; and before any other persecutors took up the matter, Queen Mary was no more; and, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, these proceedings were immediately stayed.

The pious and excellent *Bernard Gilpin*, who, for his faithful and unwearied labours among the rude inhabitants of the borders, was called the Apostle of the North, was marked for the stake like many others, but escaped by the death of Queen Mary. Tonstal, the bishop of Durham, was milder than most of his brethren, and had often protected Gilpin, who was his relative, from his enemies; but at last the council sent for him to London, where the searching questions would have been tendered to him, and the usual consequences would have followed. But it pleased God to require farther service from this faithful minister: while on the journey, he broke his leg; this providential occurrence detained him on the road, and before he was able to proceed, the queen was no more!†

William Living, who had been a priest, and his wife, were apprehended a short time previous to the death of the queen. The officers found a work with geometrical figures among his books, upon which they declared that he was a conjurer, and had occasioned the queen's illness by his magical arts! The wife referred to the New Testament, calling it Christ's Testament. "It is the devil's testament," exclaimed one of the bishop's officers.

John Lithall was apprehended for having some books which belonged to William Living: being required by Bonner's chancellor to state his belief, he said, "I believe to be justified freely by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or anything invented by man." The chancellor told him that faith could not save without works; and sent him to Lollards' Tower, where he was suspended for three days and nights in the stocks, till he was so lame that he could not move. A few days afterward, the queen being at the point of death, they were discharged, their neighbours becoming answerable for their appearance, if called for.

Many remarkable instances which are recorded respecting

* His illness was short, and interrupted his designs of raising a severe persecution in that diocese. Upward of ninety persons were to have been called before him on the day following that upon which he died.

† See his life, No. 7, Christian Biography.

individuals of every rank who, "through the good providence of God, were mercifully preserved," are excluded by the limits of this work; but the preservation of the Protestants in Ireland must be noticed.

Queen Mary and her council had been too much engaged with the English Protestants to pay much attention to those in Ireland. They were comparatively few in number; and, being surrounded by an overwhelming mass of Romanists, could be reserved for a future opportunity. At length the time came. Towards the end of her reign, when the persecutions raged with increased vigour, a commission was addressed to the lord-deputy of Ireland, ordering similar proceedings to be adopted there, and appointing commissioners or inquisitors for that purpose. The order was given to Dr. Cole, one of the number, and he was directed to proceed to Ireland on this errand. Such a journey then was far more tedious and formidable than it is now. Dr. Cole travelled at the usual rate, and arrived at Chester, where he was waited upon by the mayor of that city, a zealous Romanist. In the course of conversation, the doctor produced a leathern box, which contained the commission, and said, "Here is that which shall lash the heretics of Ireland." The mistress of the inn, named Edmunds, overheard these words, and was much troubled, being a Protestant, and having a brother residing in Dublin. When the mayor took his leave, Dr. Cole waited on him down stairs with much ceremony; the mistress seized the opportunity; she opened the box and took out the commission, placing in its stead a pack of cards. Dr. Cole, not suspecting what had been done, pursued his journey, and arrived at Dublin on the 7th of October. The council being assembled, he declared his errand; and the lord-deputy desiring that the commission might be read, the secretary opened the box, but found only a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs placed uppermost. All were startled; and, as they could not proceed without a commission, Dr. Cole went back to England to procure another; but before he could return to Dublin, Queen Mary died, and the papal persecutions were stopped.*

A few particulars, also, should be given of that indefatigable labourer in the cause of Christ to whose patient and persevering industry we are indebted for a faithful narrative of the sufferings of the martyrs.

JOHN FOX was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1517. At the age of sixteen he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he soon became distinguished for learning and abilities. At that time he was a papist; but he applied himself to the study of divinity, and was speedily marked as a favourer of the Reformation. He used to relate that he

* Queen Elizabeth gave the landlady a pension of £40 per annum.

was first led to examine into the Romish doctrines from finding that things in their own nature most contrary to each other were ordered by that church equally to be believed, upon pain of condemnation. This induced him to study the history of the Christian Church from the early ages; and, before he was thirty years old, he had read all the Greek and Latin Fathers, the disputations of the school divines, the acts of the councils, and decrees of the consistories. Such an intimate acquaintance with the rise and progress of popish error soon led him to reject the doctrines of that corrupt and persecuting church. The change was observed, the Romanists who presided in the university expelled him from his college, and his life was in considerable danger. To add to his distress, he was forsaken by his friends and relatives, some of whom were fearful of the consequences of associating with him, and others took advantage of his destitute condition! Among the latter was his father-in-law, who withheld from Fox his paternal property, knowing that the persecuted Gospeller could not venture to sue for his own. In the latter end of Henry the Eighth's reign, he came to London, where he suffered much distress, but at length was engaged as tutor to the children of the Earl of Surrey. He remained in this family under the protection of their grandfather, the Duke of Norfolk, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, and in the commencement of that of Queen Mary, when he soon found that his troubles were about to be renewed. Gardiner had heard of him as one who was strongly opposed to the Church of Rome, and was determined to find some accusation against him. The duke, having a sincere esteem for Fox, evaded Gardiner's requests to see the tutor, as he was called. One day, Fox unexpectedly entered the room while the prelate was there; and, in answer to Gardiner's inquiries, the duke stated that he was a physician. "I like his countenance and aspect very well," said Gardiner; "and, when occasion shall be, I will use him!" This was enough to cause alarm; danger was evidently at hand, and arrangements were made for the immediate escape of Fox to the Continent. After a short concealment at a farmhouse near Ipswich, he embarked on board a trading vessel, but was driven back the next day by a storm, and found that, during this short interval, one of Gardiner's officers had been at the place of his concealment with a warrant for his apprehension! At night they again put to sea; Fox landed in safety at Nieupoort, and stayed on the Continent till Queen Mary's death, residing chiefly at Basle, where he gained a scanty livelihood as a corrector of the press. While in exile, he laid the plan of his great work, "THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH," and executed a considerable portion of it. He was assisted by Archbishop Grindal, then also in exile, who maintained a constant correspondence with sev-

eral persons in England, and received accounts from time to time of the sufferings of the principal martyrs, with particulars of their examinations and letters. Much of the correspondence between Grindal and Fox was preserved, and shows the great care and caution used in ascertaining the truth of these documents.

After the death of Queen Mary, Fox returned to England. He then laboured incessantly to complete his work, examining records and living witnesses with great care. In these labours he was employed for several years. The first edition was printed in 1563; the work was afterward enlarged, and many thousand copies have been printed at different times. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a royal order was issued directing that copies should be placed in the halls of ecclesiastical dignitaries, in colleges, and in the parish churches.

We cannot but remark how peculiarly the early studies of Fox qualified him for this work; and there is no instance upon record of a history being compiled with such care and attention to accuracy, or with such advantages for obtaining minute and correct information respecting the events narrated therein. Neal observes, "No book ever gave such a mortal wound to popery as this." Surely, then, we should be thankful that its general veracity and faithfulness are so fully established as to defy the sophistries and calumnies with which it has been, and still is assailed.

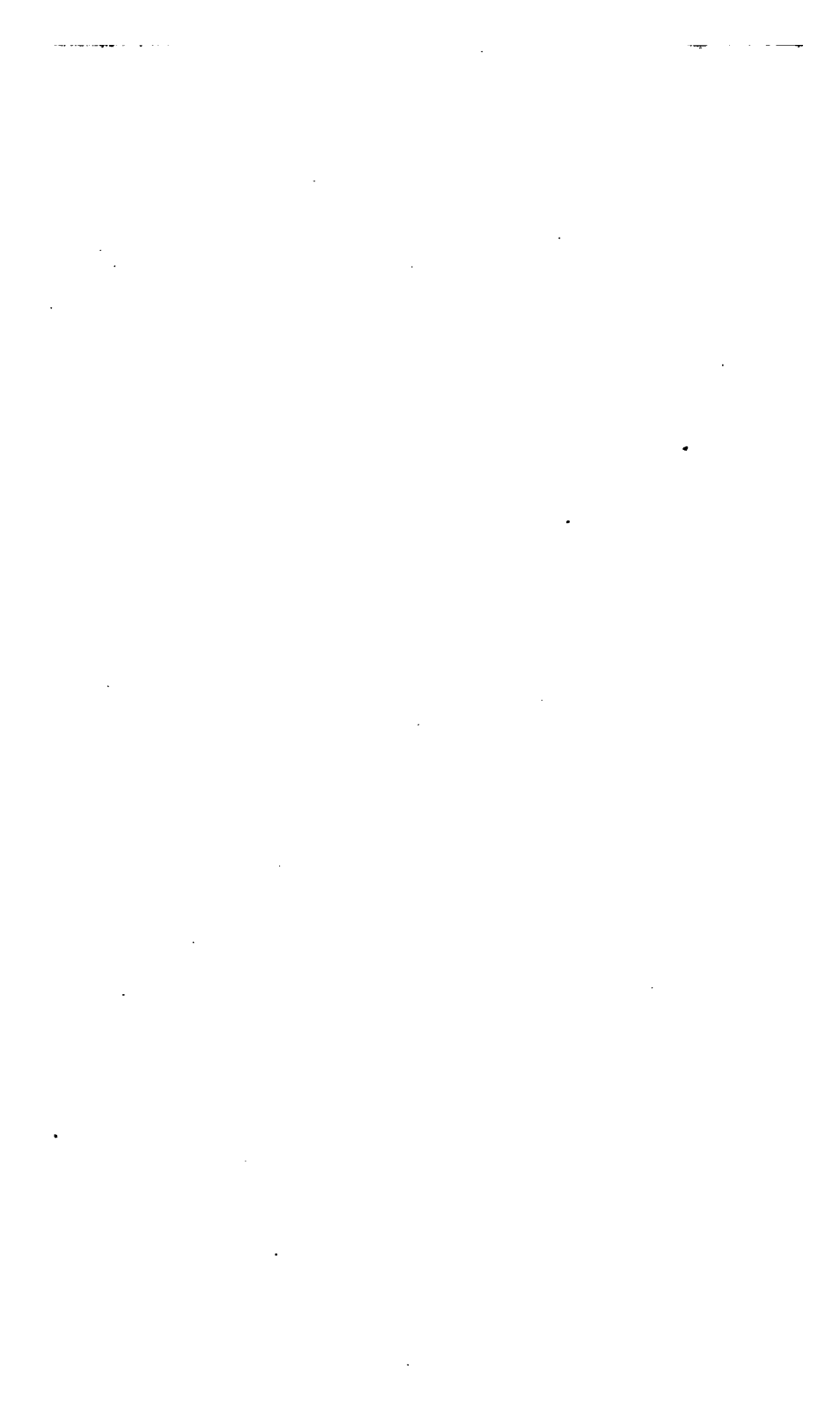
But we must close these details, and will merely sum up the number of sufferers during this reign from the best authorities. The list includes individuals of every rank, age, and description; the blind, the lame, the helpless female, the infant of an hour—all were committed to the flames. The wealthy, the poor, the priest, and the layman; the gentleman, the merchant, the artisan, the manufacturer, the labourer, and the beggar, were treated with the same cruelty! Lord Burleigh, the prime minister of Queen Elizabeth, states that the number of persons BURNED ALIVE during the last four years of Queen Mary amounted to TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT; namely, in 1555, seventy-one; in 1556, eighty-nine; in 1557, eighty-eight; in 1558, forty; and that the whole number of those who suffered death for religion by imprisonment, tortures, famine, and fire, amounted to nearly FOUR HUNDRED individuals. Other authors calculate that a much larger number suffered by the deaths, of various kinds, to which the Protestants were exposed, and that four hundred suffered publicly.*

* Nor was the loss and destruction of property inconsiderable. In the last Parliament of her reign, a member for London openly declared that the city of London was impoverished, and had lost by the proceedings of the last five years fully £300,000, equal to more than *five millions of pounds* in the present day!

And now we must conclude this brief record of "the patience and faith of the saints"—of those who were slain for the Word of God, and the testimony which they held. Surely these histories ought not to be forgotten; they show us where to look for support under the severest trials and sufferings, and they should make us thankful that our lot is cast in better times. Do they not impress upon our minds a horror of persecution, and exhibit, in its true colours, that church which, for so many ages, has been drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, endeavouring to wrest Scripture for a sanction to its cruel enormities? Do they not teach us to abhor the doctrines and the system which inculcate and justify such cruelties? And let not the memory of our forefathers be forgotten, who "counted not their lives dear unto them," that they might "hold faith and a good conscience," in the knowledge and possession of the truth that there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, even Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all. "Wherefore, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us; looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith," and remembering that "God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son."

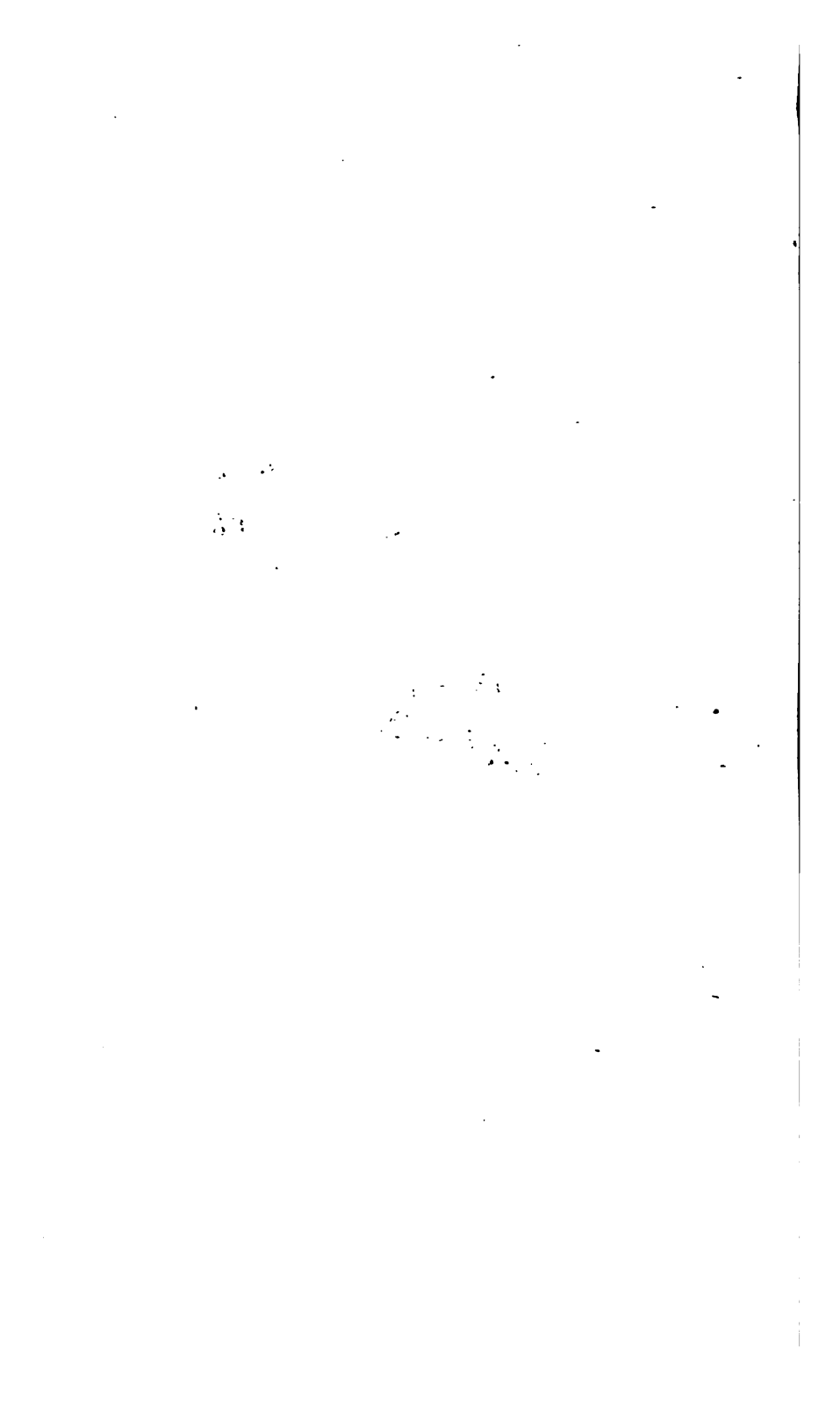
* Many proofs of this might be given; one will suffice; it is particularly addressed to English readers. In the Rhemish translation of the New Testament for the English Romanists, the following note is appended to the words of our Lord, Luke, ix., 55, when he rebuked two of his disciples for their desire to destroy those who refused to receive him: "Not justice, nor all rigorous punishment of sinners, is here forbidden; nor Elias's fact reprehended; nor the Church, nor Christian princes, blamed for putting heretics to death; but that none of these should be done for desire of our particular revenge, or without discretion, and in regard of their amendment and example to others. Therefore, St. Peter used his power upon Ananias and Sapphira, when he struck them both down to death for *defrauding the Church*!" Hebrews, x., 29, is, in like manner, applied to all whom the Church of Rome calls heretics. These notes, with many others of similar tendency, are omitted in some recent editions, but never have been disavowed or recalled; and the execution of a schoolmaster, named *Ripoli*, at Valencia, in Spain (in July, 1826), for expressions deemed heretical by the Church of Rome, with many other late occurrences, prevent us from believing that its principles are changed.

THE END.











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